Daily Report

Latin America

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FBIS-LAT-89-229 *30 November 1989*

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Cuba

Envoy Criticizes U.S. 'Campaign' Against Nation

FL2911144289 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] At the United Nations, Cuba has criticized the international campaign that the United States has been orchestrating for several years accusing the Cuban Government of alleged human rights abuses. Speaking at the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, Cuban Ambassador Oscar Oramas Oliva said that 3 years ago, the United States transferred the political disagreement to the headquarters of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva in a failed attempt to condemn Cuba. Despite the international community's sustained rejection of such dirty attempts, Oramas Oliva added, Washington continues its anti-Cuban campaign, supported by its economic wealth and control over multinational media companies.

Fernandez Supports UNESCO Debt Proposal

FL3011025389 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0023 GMT 30 Nov 89

["Excerpt" of speech given by Education Minister Jose Ramon Fernandez at the Latin American Conference on Education for Everyone on 29 November in Quito, Ecuador, and broadcast during the "Exclusivo" program—recorded]

[Text] Let the proposal made at the recent UNESCO general conference—and which Cuba also makes at this conference—become a reality: To dedicate five percent of the foreign debt to the creation of an educational development fund for the world. It is hoped that the superpowers, as a result of the detente and disarmament process which is currently being promoted and which must be of a universal nature, will invest those resources in the development of education and health—essential aspects of all social and economic improvement processes. It is hoped that the (?creditors) of the uncollectible foreign debt will immediately convert a substantial percentage of the debt to satisfy needs for learning and the wellbeing of their people. Consequently, ladies and gentlemen, we propose that part of the debt be used (?with) international financial organizations to create a world fund for education under the sponsorship of the UNESCO.

Angolan Officer Praises Internationalist Aid

FL2911162489 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1510 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Report by Fernando Delgado, special correspondent in Angola]

[Text] Lieutenant Colonel Manuel Joaquin Ramiro of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FAPLA, said: The Angolan people owe an immense debt to the Cuban Communist Party, Government, and people, and we are eternally grateful for the internationalist assistance we received from Cuba's best children. The second in command of an important unit of Angolan combatants added that our internationalists left behind their political and ideological example, in addition to their heroism and high level of training and combat readiness, which demonstrates their willingness to sacrifice their own lives for a brother country.

The FAPLA official said that the invincible combative union of Angolans, Namibians, and Cubans in Cuito Cuanavale was the final blow against the South African aggressor. Lt Col Manuel Joaquin Ramiro added, however, that in speaking of Cuban internationalists in Angola, one will always have to speak of what occurred before, during, and after Cuito Cuanavale.

Raul Castro Sends Message to Sergeants Meeting

FL2911131189 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Army General Raul Castro Ruz, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR], sent his warm greetings to the delegates participating in the first national sergeants and instructors meeting in Matanzas. The meeting will end tomorrow. Castro's message was conveyed by Division General Ulises Rosales del Toro, first vice minister of the FAR and chief of the General Staff, during a speech he made at the meeting.

Haiti

U.S. Ambassador's Meeting Canceled

FL2911150489 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1500 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] We have just learned that the Tuesday ceremony at which the new U.S. ambassador to Haiti, Alvin Adams, was to have presented his credentials to Haitian President Prosper Avril has been cancelled by the authorities. AFP reported this, citing well-informed sources. The ceremony has been postponed until a later unspecified date.

According to reliable sources, this action reflects the Haitian authorities' displeasure with statements made by Adams last Friday upon his arrival in Port-au-Prince. The Haitian authorities allegedly find these statements not in conformity with diplomatic custom because the ambassador has not yet presented his credentials.

Adams recalled the military government's irrevocable promise to relinquish power to a civilian government and expressed the hope that the elections would be free and honest and would take place in a climate of security.

We remind listeners that elections in eight successive steps, from municipal elections to presidential elections, are planned for next year.

A meeting in Port-au-Prince between the new U.S. ambassador and Haitian Foreign Minister Yvon Perrier was also cancelled yesterday at the last minute.

CEP's Jovin Sees No Pressure for Elections

FL2911140789 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1200 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Recent political events in Haiti have diverted attention away from the work being done by the members of the Permanent Electoral Council [CEP] for some time now. [passage omitted]

The Reverend Jacques J. Jovin, CEP treasurer and representative of the Protestant Churches, says the CEP has now moved into higher gear. He says people in Haiti must feel something is being done about the future elections. He says everything is ready and organized for the CEP's central office, the Departmental Electoral Offices [BED], the Communal Electoral Offices [BEC], and the Local Electoral Offices [BEL] to become reality. [passage omitted]

Jovin said the CEP was a government institution. He said the CEP's job is to hold elections and that the CEP would make great efforts to hold proper elections in Haiti. He added that up to now, nobody has put any pressure on the CEP, neither the military government nor the population. The only pressure on the CEP, said Jovin, has come from a small group of people who have called them crooked wheeler-dealers and other names. Here is a Jovin's final recording.

[Begin Jovin recording] The CEP is a government institution that exists for the purpose of holding elections. And no one is stopping us from holding elections. That is why we say there will be elections.

Now, should we one day be at the point where they pressure us.... [changes thought] and you know how this pressure could begin, do you know what I mean? It would be visible. We would see it. If they were to go all the way and not hold elections, they would have to issue a decree saying that there would no longer be any elections. At that point, we would not even have time to say that we were not going to hold elections. We would already not be able to hold elections.

Up to now, however, we are here to hold elections. We are encountering no obstacles. We will continue to do our work. Up to now, we have received no pressure whatsoever from the executive branch of the government.

We have not been pressured by the population either. I mean, we have not seen any marches in the street where the population rises up and says (?to give it this or that), or that it wants this or does not want that from the CEP. The only pressure at present is from a few candidates, for example, who call us things like "the nine crooked wheeler-dealers." That is the only pressure we are aware of, up to now. [end recording]

CLFD Invites All To 'Sign Social Pact'

FL2911131689 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1200 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] In reference to 29 November [anniversary of the 1987 election day massacre], the Liaison Committee of the Democratic Forces [CLFD] expresses its solidarity with all Haitians struggling for democracy in Haiti—those in the government, those in the Haitian Armed Forces, and even those who continue to be against the government's policy of dialogue and openness. The historic date made memorable by the forces of darkness, which did not want change in Haiti, is a date upon which the Haitian people should reflect.

The forces of darkness that, in collusion with international forces, were responsible for 29 November 1987 in Haiti are still present on the political scene. They are here, watching, seeking any occasion or way of intervening to paralyze Haiti, block the democratic transition, provoke democrats, and bury what the Haitian people (?took once and for all) on 7 February 1986.

They are also trying to constrain the government, to get it to back down from its democratic action.

The CLFD asks the Haitian people to sign a social pact to work together against the economic crisis ravaging Haiti and make Haiti progress.

The CLFD calls on all political, union, religious, and socioprofessional organizations that wish to reflect upon Haiti's future, that sincerely wish to see Haiti progress, to support the historic meeting to be held at CLFD headquarters at No 31 Capois Street. This meeting is scheduled for 1600 on 5 December.

This press release is signed for the CLFD's political bureau by: Daniel Narcisse, coordinator; Gilles Michel Hendrick, deputy coordinator; and Claude Veillard, Roger Courtois, and Max Berlus, members.

Doctors Protest Accusation by Armed Forces

FL2911142289 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1500 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A group of physicians have been peaceably occupying the Headquarters of the Haitian Bishops Conference [CEH] since yesterday. These physicians, members of the Haitian Medical Association [AMH], are protesting the accusation made against two of their fellow members by the Haitian Armed Forces General Headquarters concerning the treatment of Etienne Marineau at the military hospital. We will listen to our reporter Marcus recap the events.

[Marcus] [passage omitted] The accusation is unfounded and has no scientific basis. The physicians believe the Army is looking for a scapegoat. [passage omitted]

The case against Doctors Thomas and Leveque and in short, against the medical corps, is serious. Dr Michel

Lominy, former public health minister under the [first] Namphy government, will elaborate.

[Begin Lominy recording] The accusation is very serious. It is very hard to comprehend that the accusation is being made by the Haitian Army! Now, we know the Haitian Army is not credible. It is an army that does not even do its own job! It is paid to provide security but does not provide security. Rather, it is the Army itself that is responsible for the insecurity. [passage omitted]

Thus, we feel that the Haitian Army does not have the moral authority or credibility to openly accuse doctors of not doing their jobs properly. The Army should start by doing its own job properly! [passage omitted] [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Announcer] The students at the School of Medicine [of the National University of Haiti] today expressed solidarity with the movement. We remind listeners that the National Confederation of Haitian Instructors yesterday also expressed its support for the AMH.

The Ministry of Public Health has formed a five-man committee to study the dossier. The members of this committee are: Dr Rene Charles, Dr Adrien Westerband, Dr Michel-Ange Monplaisir, Dr Jean Robert Mathurin, and Dr Emmanuel Arnoux. A Ministry of Public Health press release says this committee is to make a technical study of the dossier presented, collect any additional pertinent information, and make (?emergency) recommendations. This will permit the Ministry of Public Health to rule on the matter.

The bishops are not at the CEH Headquarters being occupied by the protesting physicians. It seems, however, there is a communique from the bishops. Here is a report from Marcus, broadcasting from our mobile unit:

[Marcus] The communique is not from the bishops but from Monsignor Petion Laroche, bishop of Hinche. He sent it to Brother Alix of the (?Brothers of Christian Instruction), who read it a few moments ago at the beginning of the AMH news conference.

The bishop explains that five of his colleagues are at this time out of the country. [passage omitted] He said the CEH's reaction will be forthcoming upon their return.

The AMH, which is holding this news conference, is asking other Haitian associations to express their solidarity. [passage omitted] The Association of Haitian Agronomists today expressed its solidarity.

We point out that medical students have come here in great numbers to support their elders. The physicians of the National University of Haiti's School of Medicine have also expressed their support.

There were many prominent people at CEH Headquarters this morning, including historian Roger Gaillard, the Reverend Father Jean Bertrand Aristide, Father Smarth, Father Adrien, and many more. [passage omitted] This is Mobile Unit 19 for Radio Metropole from CEH Headquarters.

Costa Rica

President Arias Talks With Bush on Area Crisis

PA3011030589 San Jose Radio Impacto in Spanish 1830 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] President Oscar Arias has accused Fidel Castro of promoting the Salvadoran conflict. Arias recalled that the Cuban communist leader has publicly and privately stated he has a moral commitment to the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] of El Salvador.

This morning President Arias spoke by telephone with U.S. President George Bush to ask him to analyze the Central American situation in depth during the upcoming U.S.-Soviet meeting.

Arias said he is concerned with the setbacks the Central America peace plan has suffered in recent days. He noted that now more than ever it is necessary to be strong to wage the struggle. He noted the importance of the meeting between the pope and the atheistic Communist leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Let us listen to President Arias speaking about his telephone call to Bush and about Cuba's influence in El Salvador.

[Begin Arias recording, in progress] ...feel much pain over what has happened in El Salvador in recent days, to wish him well in his forthcoming summit meeting with President Gorbachev, and to tell him that as a Central American, as president of this country, and as author of the peace plan, I believe that the pacification of Central America must be a priority issue in the agenda of the summit meeting he will have with Mr Gorbachev in the next few days.

I know that now the world has its eyes on what is happening in Eastern Europe, on the changes in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. There, however, the people are not getting killed. In Central America, on the other hand, innocent people—women, children, and the elderly—are dying as a result of a war that no one understands and that has no justification.

I told him that Fidel Castro is behind all this. He has publicly and privately said he has a special commitment to the Salvadoran guerrillas. [end recording]

The president said that the scheduled meeting of Central American chiefs of state is still scheduled and that he has asked Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo to host this meeting.

The president made this statement when dedicating a housing project and during a ceremony for him at the Alajuela Savings and Loans Mutual. This morning, he dedicated the Arguaces neighborhood, in Desamparados, Alajuela. This project was for 146 houses. It cost more than 67 million colones. He also dedicated the La Villa residential area, in Villa Bonita, Alajuela. This project has 59 houses and cost more than 41 million colones.

Mission Views Nicaraguan Voter Registration

PA2911191889 San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 17 Nov 89 p 4A

[Article by Ricardo Lizano]

[Text] A commission established by President Dr Oscar Arias that visited Nicaragua has concluded that although the Sandinists have tried to upgrade the electoral system, it does not offer enough guarantees and is quite vulnerable.

A document containing this conclusion was handed to the head of state on 16 November at the Presidency by the group members—Former President Mario Echandi, Joaquin Vargas Gene, and Alfonso Guzman, former president of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE).

The group visited Nicaragua on 26-31 October, representing Dr Oscar Arias as part of the so-called group of democratically-elected presidents promoted by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, which has sent observers to Nicaragua.

However, because of differences with a U.S. national surnamed Lincoln, the Costa Ricans followed their own agenda and visited various points of the country to fulfill their mission.

Members of the Supreme Electoral Council (CSE)—the organization that oversees the voting—reported that it registered 1.7 million voters in only four Sundays. This piece of information attracted the attention of the Costa Ricans.

On the Sunday that they were in Nicaragua, they noticed that a minimum of 9 and a maximum of 32 had registered at each polling table.

The registration of so many voters—at a rate not even achieved in countries with a great electoral tradition such as Costa Rica—calls for the mobilization of human and material resources that Nicaragua evidently lacks.

As if this were not enough, the electoral authorities claimed that they had already registered most of the voters (98 percent), which sounds incredible in a nation with little experience in electoral matters.

The fact that there are no personal identity cards was no less surprising. Citizens can show up at a polling table and identify themselves with a driver's license or bring two witnesses to certify their identity under oath.

However, there is no way to prevent this from repeating itself several times, thus allowing one person to vote more than once. The opposition has no means of controlling this.

All aspects pertaining to the electoral registry are complicated by the fact that the last census in Nicaragua was conducted in 1972 and that the Sandinist Defense Committees (CDS), a power instrument of the rulers, played a prominent role in producing the registry. Anyone over 16 years old can vote.

Delegation members were told that the opposition has encountered obstacles to participating in the process. They were informed that soldiers arriving in trucks dispersed people who had been waiting in line for hours to register in communities housing detachments of the Sandinist People's Army (EPS).

Despite the situation, the Costa Ricans managed to delve into this in several places and confirmed that most of those who wanted to register, about 80 percent, expressed an intention to vote for the National Opposition Union (UNO).

El Salvador

FMLN Hopes To Force Government To Talk

PA3011014289 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2317 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] San Jose, 29 Nov (ACAN-EFE)—Nidia Diaz, commander of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] of El Salvador and member of the FMLN Political and Diplomatic Commission, announced today in Costa Rica that the Salvadoran Marxist guerrillas will maintain their military positions in San Salvador to force the rightist Salvadoran Government to discuss ending the war.

Commander Diaz spoke in San Jose with the media during a brief stopover on her way to Mexico.

On 11 November, the Salvadoran guerrillas launched an offensive that has already caused more than 2,000 casualties, left tens of thousands homeless, and caused $120 million in losses. Diaz said that the FMLN has decided to maintain its positions "in the very heart of San Salvador." She stated that the FMLN fighters are upholding their commitment of "not attacking U.S. citizens who reside in El Salvador," including the military advisers.

She explained that the FMLN knows that the United States has approximately 300 military advisers in El Salvador, not 56 as the government claims, and that they have been assigned to barracks, approximately 10 U.S. advisers per barrack.

The commander said that the attacks on the military, as well as other actions in the past few days, make evident "the strengthening of the military and political capabilities that the FMLN has to operate in the capital." The conflict, she said, is going to "continue until the situation is defined, and if the government does not want to negotiate, then El Salvador could become another Beirut." She added: "No one wants that. No one would benefit from that." Commander Diaz cautioned, however, that if the government does not accept negotiations, which has been case up until now, "the struggle in the cities will continue."

She noted that the Armed Forces want a military solution to the conflict. She said that the plane that crashed in El Salvador, which supposedly had flown from Nicaragua with weapons, is part of an Armed Forces strategy to urge the United States to participate militarily in the internal conflict in El Salvador.

Regarding possible negotiations aimed at ending the war, Diaz said that the FMLN is prepared to talk, "as several European and Latin American governments, the United Nations, the OAS, and the pope have asked," but to hold talks, she said, "it is necessary to have a cease-fire with on-site verification by the United Nations."

The commander said that the FMLN has initiated a diplomatic offensive at the international level to report its position regarding the Salvadoran situation. She said that OAS Secretary General Joao Baena Soares should mediate in the Salvadoran problem.

Radio Venceremos Views U.S. Role in Conflict

PA3011003489 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 2125 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The fighting in San Salvador residential areas brings up substantial differences in the form and content of the war in El Salvador between the fighting in neighborhoods of the poor and the fighting in neighborhoods of the rich. Today, when the fighting took place in various parts of the capital city, including places such as the Escalon, San Benito, San Francisco, and General Arce residential areas—where U.S. diplomatic personnel live, where the military officers and government officials have their residences, where the Salvadoran high society has its residences—the repercussions are very different.

U.S. Government spokesmen reacted quickly and without delay. Marlin Fitzwater, James Baker, the State Department, Ambassador Walker—everyone was very worried over the fate of U.S. personnel. They expressed angry words against the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN]. If there is someone in the world who is well informed of the war situation in El Salvador, it is precisely the Pentagon, the State Department, and the U.S. Embassy, because they have financed and given advice to the Salvadoran Army.

It is not our presence in the San Salvador residential areas that jeopardizes U.S. personnel. On the contrary, it is the U.S. presence, the U.S. meddling in El Salvador, that is jeopardizing its staff. They cannot ask us to get out of San Salvador so the Americans will not be trapped in the crossfire. It is U.S. intervention in the country that must come to an end, so we Salvadorans will be able to settle our problems among ourselves. This is our land, our fatherland.

The war was imposed by the injustices, the slaughters, the dictatorships, and to a great extent, by the Americans who spend $1.4 million daily in this war. This is a crucial moment for El Salvador. That is why we demand that the

U.S. Administration—that is, the Bush administration—the U.S. Congress, and the U.S. people carefully think this over and act sensibly so we will be able to put an end to this war. It is imperative that the U.S. Government—the Bush administration—think this over and promote changes in its policy toward El Salvador, and thus make a solution to the conflict feasible.

We have publicly and officially said, as one of our many gestures of good will, that the FMLN will not attack U.S. diplomatic installations or personnel in El Salvador. In addition, we have instructed our units, our fighters, and commando groups not to attack diplomatic sites, because naturally they are not military targets for the FMLN. We hope that, in the same manner, both the U.S. Embassy and the other diplomatic representatives will instruct their security guards so they will not become involved in the fighting, thus preventing confusion that we would all regret.

The U.S. Government can play a positive role in defining the conflict. The U.S. Congress and other international organizations, such as the United Nations and the OAS, are already discussing the true situation of our country. We believe this is the moment to change policies. The U.S. Government cannot continue to finance and support a regime that is bombing the civilian population in the cities, a regime that murders priests, a regime that publicly threatens the bishops. The U.S. Government must use its good judgment and contribute to the end of the war, and not continue to support a fascist regime that is not acceptable in our fatherland, El Salvador.

Radio Venceremos Views 'Democratic Struggle'

PA3011041489 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0047 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Station commentary: "Outlook for the Country's Democractic Struggle"]

[Text] Many sectors here and abroad are wondering if the political openings that have been won have closed as a result of the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] offensive. They feel that the outlook for their participation in the country's social and political system is very uncertain.

ARENA [National Republican Alliance] and certain sectors of the Bush administration believe that the FMLN has been defeated following the offensive, and based on this they feel they can behead all forms of opposition, which obviously leads to the closure of these political opportunities. The regime thus has begun to use legal instruments such as the antiterrorist law to start encircling the people's movement. The regime has increased curtailment of democratic liberties, while death squads terrorize political and social organizations and their leaders.

Fascism, however, can only win if the revolution is defeated. The truth is that the FMLN, far from being defeated, is expanding its offensive. The political opportunities that have survived are the result of a surprising struggle by the Salvadoran people and the country's democratic sectors, a struggle in which the FMLN has played a fundamental role.

If the FMLN had not existed, the reforms would never have been attempted. If the FMLN and the people's revolutionary war had not existed, there would never have been such an intense political debate nor would the country's media have developed as much as it has. Now even the very protagonists of the counterinsurgency reforms admit this fact. Those political opportunities will therefore definitely not end as long as the FMLN is undefeated; obviously, judging by their erroneous appraisals, the fascists are trying to repeat a decapitation like the one that occurred in 1981.

The unmasking of the fascist dictatorship means without doubt a resistance struggle in which the most diverse political and social sectors make an effort to prevent those political opportunities from being closed off. From that point onward, a common platform of democratic struggle begins to take shape against the fascists' goals. At the current stage, a very wide-ranging group of sectors have spoken out demanding that the state of siege, martial law, and the press gag law be lifted.

Except for ARENA, the country's consensus is that there is a need for a cease-fire and the start of negotiations. This resistance struggle to hold on to the political opportunities gained so far against fascism has the definite potential to broaden in relation to the FMLN's expanding offensive, and while the war becomes defined. When these moments get closer, all social and political forces will play a greater role at the negotiating table—an involvement that already means an achievement by many. The fascist dictatorship has no chance to consolidate. The time for broadened democratic and political participation is getting closer in relation to increased reports on the dictatorship's brutalities, which tie their hands even further, while our rifles are making them enter the final crisis.

No doubt more and more Salvadorans will become committed to this path. For our part, we can assure the country and the world that since 11 November the FMLN fighters have not rested day or night in trying to implement the goal of firm and lasting democracy and peace in the country.

Foreigners Arrested for Aiding FMLN

PA3011021189 San Salvador Domestic Service in Spanish 1235 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Several foreigners, commonly called internationalists—including the Italian Maria Gabriela Tornago—have been arrested for contributing, through various tricks, to aiding the preparation and launching of the FMLN's [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] merciless terrorist offensive.

Those arrested, who were remanded to common courts, were accused of using subterfuges such as mock weddings, birthday celebrations, and other events to smuggle weapons into the Marxists safehouses.

The Treasury Police remanded Christian Alberto Martinez Ramirez, Maria Gabriela Tornago, and Evelyn de los Angeles Marroquin Hueso to the Fifth Peace Court, accusing them of being members of the terrorist group that calls itself Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers, PRTC.

The police asserted that they have discovered how the prisoners established the safehouses and clinics to treat wounded communists through an investigation and the prisoners' own testimony.

The foreigners were arrested in Prados de Venecia neighborhood, Section K, House No 7, in Soyapango. At the time of their arrest they were preparing to hold a mock wedding to gather together a large number of accomplices in the neighborhood and from the so-called 20 March Community to launch a movement which they hoped would become an insurrection.

National Guard Captures Rebel Leader 'Aristides'

PA3011061189 San Salvador Domestic Service in Spanish 0154 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] National Guard personnel stationed in San Miguel have captured the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] terrorist commander who goes by the pseudonym Aristides in a neighborhood in that town. Aristides had been operating in a large sector of the eastern part of the country for some time, and had committed all types of crimes against the Salvadoran people.

Commander Aristides has provided the Armed Forces with important information directly linking the cynical Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega's government to the FMLN.

Rebels Attack General Staff Headquarters Area

PA2911142389 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1340 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Attention, attention. We have last-minute information.

Attention. Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] forces have broken the siege that the fascist troops were maintaining around northwestern and northern San Salvador.

Attention. We have been fighting in areas close to the Armed Forces General Staff headquarters. We repeat. We are fighting in areas close to the Armed Forces General Staff headquarters. We are fighting in La Sultana neighborhood, on the Southern Highway and around the Democracia Building.

Our units entered the Manuel Jose Arce neighborhood inhabited by high-ranking military chiefs and occupied several houses there. Our forces found arsenals in some of the houses and clashed against enemy troops.

Our forces seized many weapons including rifles, machineguns, ammunition, and other war material. All those weapons were found in the houses of several high-ranking military chiefs in the Manuel Jose Arce neighborhood.

We also have reports on clashes in the area of Antiguo Cuscatlan where Military Detachment No 6 reinforcements refused to advance. The Sonsonate troops refused to advance toward our positions in the area of Antiguo Cuscatlan.

Similarly, our forces are holding positions in Soyapango, Mejicanos, Cuscatancingo, and Ayutuxtepeque. Our forces also have control of the Northern Trunk Highway and other important routes leading to San Salvador.

There are clashes against Bracamonte Battalion troops in La Sultana neighborhood, San Francisco, and Antiguo Cuscatlan. The enemy has reacted in four different ways. The enemy sent Bracamonte Battalion reinforcements in one direction, but their advance was neutralized and halted at the Escalon neighborhood. We repeat. The first High Command response to our incursion into northwestern and western San Salvador residential neighborhoods including Bracamonte Battalion reinforcements has been neutralized. Our forces ambushed and neutralized those Bracamonte Battalion reinforcements.

A second enemy response to our incursion into and control of northwestern and western San Salvador moved along the Southern Highway and was ambushed with RPG-7 rocket launchers and therefore neutralized. The enemy's third response moving through Santa Tecla was also attacked by our forces and has been neutralized with an ambush near La Universal and Guadalupe Gardens. These Atlacatl Battalion forces were also neutralized.

We are receiving this report from San Salvador. The High Command's first and belated response included four movements, which were all halted by our forces. Those four High Command defensive movements have been attacked and neutralized. Both the Bracamonte and the Atlacatl Battalions have been neutralized. Meanwhile the troops coming from Sonsonate refused to advance in southwestern San Salvador.

Clashes now cover a large area from the highway linking Santa Tecla and San Salvador and through La Mascota, Las Palmas, San Benito, Maquiligue, Campestre, Lomas Verdes, Escalon neighborhoods, continuing to the San Salvador Volcano and moving through the entire northern San Salvador including Ayutuxtepeque, Cuscatancingo, northern Mejicanos, and Mejicanos itself and then moving to Ciudad Delgado, Soyapango, and the southern section of the Pan-American Highway, where our units maintain positions and are advancing toward enemy forces. In other words, at this hour the FMLN has formed the largest arch of attacks during our forces' entire occupation of San Salvador.

Rebels: U.S. Advisers Evacuated From Capital

PA2911142889 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1350 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Attention. Heavy clashes are taking place in Lomas de San Francisco, northwestern and southwestern San Salvador. The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] columns continue to advance into the area.

The report from San Salvador indicates that U.S. military advisers are being hastily evacuated from the Escalon, San Benito, and Manuel Jose Arce neighborhoods. We are receiving reports stating that U.S. military advisers and Salvadoran military personnel are being hurriedly evacuated from the Escalon, San Benito, and Manuel Jose Arce neighborhoods.

The report adds that the greatest effort La Tandona [members of the 1966 graduating class of the Captain Gerardo Barrios Military Academy] is making is to save La Tandona members.

Rebels Report Firing on Joint Chiefs Station

PA2911150089 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1355 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] A report we are receiving here states that clashes took place at 0515 today on Mirador Street and La Discoteca. In addition, we have carried out an attack with artillery fire on the General Staff in Escalon neighborhood and the Public Security Academy.

Attention. The report states that the General Staff [as heard] and the Public Security Academy have been attacked with artillery fire.

Here is our report from San Salvador. Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] forces carried out an artillery attack on the Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff installations and on the Public Security Academy in Santa Tecla at 0515 today. This is the most recent report received by Radio Venceremos.

Artillery fire hit the installations of the Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff inflicting many casualties on the troops guarding Colonel Rene Emilio Ponce in his office.

Our units maintain positions near the Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff where they are firing mortars on the military installations.

The report coming from San Salvador indicates that the Joint Chiefs of Staff installations have been seriously damaged as a result of the artillery fire that hit the hideout of Col Ponce, the chief of La Tandona [members of the 1966 graduating class of the Captain Gerardo Barrios Military Academy].

From the guerrilla redoubts William Walker [U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador] was talking about, we have attacked the Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Public Security Academy with artillery fire. From the guerrilla redoubts Col Ponce was talking about last night, we have entered northwestern and northern San Salvador thus breaking the retaining wall the fascists had erected over that entire area to try to prevent what in fact has taken place—the incursion and occupation of large areas of San Salvador.

FMLN Repels 4-Way Armed Forces Attack

PA2911151289 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1405 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Our FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] forces have taken over bunkers from the various military chiefs in Escalon and Manuel Jose Arce neighborhoods where our units seized thousands of cartridges, rifles, grenades, and other types of arms which these military chiefs usually store in the bunkers that they maintain in these residential sectors.

As we have reported, the General Staff responded with a 4-pronged delayed response. The Armed Forces attacked from four advanced positions, one held by the Bracamonte Battalion, which advanced toward Escalon; it was neutralized by our ambushes. Our units are entrenched in the mansions of the oligarchs in that sector of Escalon neighborhood. They ambushed and repelled attacks launched by the Armed Forces from vanguard positions. The second direction in which the enemy responded to our presence was on the southern freeway. This second position was ambushed with RPG-7 rocket launchers and machinegun fire. The third enemy position, which was advancing on Santa Tecla, was ambushed at La Universal point and was also neutralized. The Atlacatl Battalion deployment along Guadalupe gardens was also neutralized. Our battalions are staging sabotage actions on electricity posts in the Escalon and San Benito neighborhoods.

Also, we have a new report which indicates that FMLN units have set up downed electricity posts as barricades along the south freeway and in the Escalon neighborhood. We repeat, along the south freeway and in the Escalon neighborhood, FMLN units have used downed electricity posts and vehicles as barricades.

This is the situation in El Salvador. Throughout the northern sector of the capital, our units are maintaining positions. The troops in the interior part of the republic in that northern region refuse to advance toward our positions, while our units are extending along the northwestern and southwestern region of the capital. Our units are extending and moving foward along these zones. The Air Force has opened fire on some of our positions in the Escalon and San Benito neighborhoods. We reiterate the call to the inhabitants of the Escalon and San Benito neighborhoods to abandon all those zones immediately. The Air Force is beginning new air raids on FMLN positions in those regions. Therefore, we call on the inhabitants of the Escalon and San Benito neighborhoods to leave those areas.

FMLN Calls for Evacuation of Hotels in Capital

PA2911155889 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1512 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] International news agencies are reporting that Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] forces are in the vicinity of the residence of President Cristiani in the northwestern region of the capital. It is also reported that there is fierce fighting along Federal Republic of Germany Avenue and in other parts of the capital.

Your attention, please. We advise the inhabitants who are in the vicinity of La Capilla Street in San Benito neighborhood and the inhabitants of Escalon neighborhood that the Air Force will proceed to launch rocket fire on sharpshooter positions in the zone of San Benito and Escalon neighborhoods. We repeat, the Army High Command has decided to use the Air Force on the fortified positions of the FMLN sharpshooters who are inflicting much damage on the advanced positions of the Armed Forces in the San Benito and Escalon neighborhoods. Therefore, we call on the inhabitants of those areas to abandon your homes, because the Air Force will again open fire on the FMLN positions and FMLN sharpshooters in San Benito and Escalon neighborhoods.

We reiterate our call to the inhabitants of the northwestern region of the city of San Salvador, to the western region, we reiterate our call to the inhabitants of the mansions, of the residences in those areas to abandon them, evacuate them, because the fighting will continue. This is to prevent victims as a result of Air Force rocket fire. Please leave the area, because it is the scene of fighting. The entire area of Nuevo Escalon, General Arce neighborhood, San Benito, San Francisco, Lomas Verdes, Monte Fresco neighborhoods—all of these areas are combat areas. We call on the inhabitants of the luxurious homes of that area to evacuate the zone. We also advise the persons who are in the Presidente, Terraza, and Sheraton Hotels in that area of the capital and personnel who work there to evacuate the hotels, because they are also located in the combat zone of the capital. This is our call to the inhabitants of that exclusive sector of the capital.

Rebels Blocking Routes Into San Salvador

PA2911163589 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1540 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Attention, attention. We continue receiving reports from San Salvador. The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] has consolidated positions in Escalon, San Benito, Maquiliguas, San Francisco, and Manuel Jose Arce neighborhoods. Our units have succeeded in halting the four Army groups that tried to advance toward the positions we have taken up.

At 0940, we were informed that our forces have defeated all the High Command efforts to try to dislodge the FMLN from their positions. The report we are receiving at 0940 indicates that our forces have consolidated positions in the Southern Highway, Escalon, San Benito, Maquiliguas, San Francisco, and Manuel Jose Arce neighborhoods. The report adds that the Sheraton Hotel is again in the middle of the area where the FMLN has taken up positions.

A report from various routes of access into San Salvador at 0941 states that our forces have control of the Northern Trunk Highway and that our units have erected barricades along the highway linking Santa Tecla City and San Salvador. Our units are also taking up positions along the highway from Santa Ana to San Salvador, thus blocking the most important, strategic roads leading into San Salvador.

At this time, we are closing Colonel Rene Emilio Ponce's ring. The FMLN movement is closing in on San Salvador with a guerrilla ring.

We also have a report from the Pan-American Highway near the area between Ilopango and San Martin. The report says that a few minutes ago, FMLN rebels took up new positions along the strategic road linking San Salvador with the eastern part of the country.

Since early this morning, our units have been taking up positions along the Northern Trunk Highway. In other words, the most important routes of access into San Salvador are being blocked by FMLN forces.

In addition, the report says that there are FMLN guerrillas along the road leading to the airport in Comalapa. There are FMLN rebels along the highway linking San Salvador and the Comalapa International Airport.

This is the situation in the country at 0942. Our forces are blocking the main routes of access into San Salvador including the Pan-American Highway, the Northern Trunk Highway leading to the western and eastern parts of the country, the Santa Tecla-San Salvador Highway, and the highway toward San Ramon, south of San Salvador. The main routes of access toward San Salvador are controlled by FMLN forces or are about to be controlled by the FMLN, because heavy clashes are currently taking place in southeastern San Salvador.

A report from northern San Salvador at 0943 states that we are maintaining our positions throughout the entire northern San Salvador area. Our comrades inform us that clashes are not as heavy as they were early this morning in northern San Salvador, because the enemy forces have adopted a conservative attitude. In other words, there are heavy clashes in some parts of northern San Salvador and not so heavy clashes in other northern San Salvador areas, because the enemy troops either refuse to fight, have retreated, or simply refuse to advance. That is the situation at this time.

Attention. Here is a new report from San Salvador which indicates that FMLN members occupying the Escalon and Manuel Jose Arce neighborhoods have set luxurious mansions owned by government officials and high-ranking military men on fire. We have seized thousands

of cartridges, M-16 rifles, and Uzi submachineguns from arsenals found in the those neighborhoods.

'Wall of Soldiers' Around General Staff Offices

PA2911165789 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1555 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] We have learned that the General Staff has erected a human wall, erected by Colonel Rene Emilio Ponce, following the artillery attack staged by us at 0515 this morning on the General Staff installations. It was reported that hundreds of little soldiers have been placed as cannon fodder outside the General Staff installations. This gives us new intelligence data on the morale of Col Ponce, how the crisis is affecting him. Without any military criterion, he has placed a wall of soldiers around the General Staff installations. This is a good piece of intelligence given to us by Col Ponce concerning his physical state and the upset being suffered by the strategic Armed Forces General Staff Command.

We call on the inhabitants of the country club, the Maquiliguas, San Benito, and Escalon neighborhoods to immediately abandon that combat zone. The fighting will get worse and the Air Force will bomb FMLN positions in San Benito and Escalon neighborhoods, therefore its inhabitants are urged to abandon that residential district in San Salvador.

A report from Usulutan indicates at this time that the FMLN units are advancing and fighting in the sector of Gaviria, El Manguito, and Los Pilotos neighborhoods in the city of Usulutan. Also, in the area of Santa Elena there is fierce fighting.

Your attention please. We have another report from San Salvador. Important information is being received from Lomas Verdes. In the strategic zone of Lomas Verdes in the northwestern part of the capital, an Army armored vehicle was destroyed and its 50-caliber machine gun seized, as well as many rifles and machine guns from the National Police and Cavalry troops. Your attention to this report from San Salvador. Fighting in the exclusive Lomas Verdes neighborhood indicates that an armored vehicle was destroyed. During the fighting a 50-caliber machine gun was seized from the damaged armored vehicle. It is being emplaced and will be used against Air Force helicopters and aircraft that overflying the area.

Since 0000, when the fighting began, to 0940, when we received the report of the fighting in Lomas Verdes neighborhood in the western part of the capital near Escalon neighborhood, our forces have destroyed an armored vehicle and seized in combat two M-60 machine guns, 8 M-16 rifles, 1 M-79 grenade launcher, 3 VRC communication radios, and a 50-caliber machine gun seized from the armored vehicle. This occurred during the fighting with the National Police and Cavalry troops, which sustained 14 casualties.

Government Reports Clashes With FMLN Rebels

PA2911171789

[Editorial Report] San Salvador Domestic Service in Spanish at 1245 GMT on 28 November begins broadcasting a number of reports on clashes between Salvadoran Armed Forces troops and Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] rebels on 27 and 28 November.

The first report states that the Salvadoran Treasury Police thwarted an FMLN attempt to occupy the San Sebastian neighborhood, Ciudad Delgado Municipality. The report adds that approximately 50 "terrorists" tried to enter Ciudad Delgado at 0500 on 28 November and that they clashed with Treasury Police members sustaining two casualties. The report concludes saying that the authorities confiscated one AK-47 rifle, one M-16 rifle, ammunition for both weapons, and several sticks of dynamite.

The second report indicates that 4th Infantry Brigade troops clashed with FMLN forces at northern Los Guevaras hamlet, La Laguna Jurisdiction, Chalatenango Department. The report goes on to say that as a result of the clashes, one rebel was killed and one M-16 rifle and a communication radio were confiscated.

The next report says that Military Detachment No. 1 reported that two of its members were wounded after a guerrilla harassment operation conducted in Chiapas Canton and Tepeyac hamlet, Chalatenango City. The same report adds that Military Detachment No. 3 members stationed in La Union Department reported that two FMLN rebels were killed and five others wounded during clashes near El Refugio Farm, San Miguel Jurisdiction in the afternoon of 27 November. The report adds that one soldier was killed and three others were wounded as a result of the attack.

The next report says that Armed Forces Military Training Center members confiscated 13 AR-15 rifles, 10 M-16 rifles, 1 heavy-caliber mortar, 2 grenades, and explosives during a combing operation in Zamoran Canton, San Miguel Jurisdiction. The same report adds that 3d Infantry Brigade troops confiscated 3 M-60 machineguns, 5 M-16 rifles, 1 RPG-18 rocket launcher, 150 cartridges and explosives at Las Lomitas Canton and El Molino neighborhood in San Miguel City.

The last report indicates that the National Police destroyed an FMLN security house in Nueva San Salvador, Santa Tecla City, La Libertad Department. The report adds that the Army troops arrested one FMLN "terrorist." The report says that "during this search operation, the Army troops confiscated 3 submachineguns, 1 Soviet-made RPK automatic rifle, 4 AKM rifles, 1 Dragunov rifle, 1 AK-47 rifle, over 40,000 cartridges, 3,800 detonating plugs, 200 Bengal lights, 6 grenades for RPG-2 grenade launchers, 112 manuals for terrorists, and other war materiel."

The report concludes saying that during another search operation in Valle Nuevo neighborhood, Ilopango,

National Police members discovered another FMLN security house and confiscated 2 submachineguns, 2 rifles, 650 cartridges, 6 sticks of dynamite, 58 detonating plugs, and other explosives.

FMLN Says U.S. Personnel Not Targets

PA2911174789 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1721 GMT 29 Nov 89

[General Command communique by Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, FMLN, issued in El Salvador on 29 November]

[Text] FMLN Communique:

1. We reiterate that the U.S. personnel and infrastructure in El Salvador are not military targets for our troops.

2. The combat zones opened up this morning include residential areas in San Salvador where U.S. personnel are living. We urge U.S. personnel to remain in their living quarters. if such personnel have any contact with our forces, they should identify themselves. Our forces have been instructed not to attack U.S. personnel.

3. We warn personnel providing protection to U.S. personnel not to get involved in clashes to avoid incidents and regrettable errors.

[Signed] FMLN General Command

Rebel Battle Reports on Zacatecoluca, Capital

PA2911194889 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1846 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] We have a report stating that from 0900 until 1100 there were fierce clashes between troops of the Nonualco Battalion and FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] forces. The clashes took place in the areas of El Carmen, San Jose, and El Porvenir farms, north of the city of Zacatecoluca.

Preliminary reports indicate a great victory north of Zacatecoluca. The 3rd Company of the Nonualco Battalion was broken up. Until now we have inflicted casualties of 14 dead and many wounded. This company was broken up by our forces in the northern outskirts of Zacatecoluca. In that operation we seized 1 90-mm cannon with several grenades, 1 M-60 machine gun, 10 M-16 rifles, 1 PRC-77 military communications radio, knapsacks, military equipment, and thousands of rounds for M-16 rifles and M-60 machine guns.

The Nonualco Battalion troops, reinforced by a company from the Atonal Battalion, have withdrawn to 2 km south of their initial positions. During the clash, the demoralized troops were supported by two O-2 light planes.

Attention, here are last-minute reports reaching us. At this time, there is fighting near the residence of President Cristiani. At this time, there is fighting near the residence of President Cristiani in northern San Salvador in the area of El Volcan. It is also reported that helicopters continue to attack the area.

We have reports from San Salvador on fighting that is taking place in different sectors of that city. Here is the report from the capital. The report states that since the early morning hours, guerrilla columns took control of downtown Antiguo Cuscatlan. We repeat, we have controlled the downtown sector of Antiguo Cuscatlan since the early morning hours. We also took control of the Jardines de Guadalupe, La Sultana, La Cima, Altos de San Francisco, and Reparto Los Heroes neighborhoods, as well as a stretch of the Southern Freeway that goes from Los Heroes neighborhood to the mortgage bank. There was a fierce attack on enemy positions guarding the military colony, the Manuel Jose Arce neighborhood, and positions in the Democracia Tower and Codorniz Hill. Also, our forces fought against two companies of the Bracamonte Battalion, which were sent in as reinforcements in the southern part of Antiguo Cuscatlan.

An enemy company, part of the defensive system of the general staff, was also attacked by our units. There was also fighting against six armored vehicles that were sent as reinforcements to El Carmen neighborhood. In view of the fierceness of our attacks, the enemy deployed its air force, UH-1H helicopters, rocket launchers, Hughes 500 helicopters, and O-2 aircraft. This is the report reaching us from San Salvador. The most intense fighting took place at around 0900 in the morning. It was later reported that many casualties have been inflicted on the Armed Forces in that part of El Salvador.

Attention, the report from San Salvador indicates that we damaged a Hughes 500 helicopter with our antiaircraft fire. A Dragonfly was damaged by the antiaircraft fire of our FMLN forces.

Rebels Attack U.S. Military Advisers' Residence

PA2911195289 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1912 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] San Salvador, 29 Nov (ACAN-EFE)—Salvadoran guerrillas today attacked the residence of U.S. military advisers in San Benito neighborhood in northwest San Salvador with mortar fire. The residence is located near the Armed Forces General Staff headquarters, according to neighbors' reports.

According to San Benito residents, the U.S. military advisers, who initially responded to the fire, were later evacuated by an elite battalion, in view of the intensity of the guerrillas' attack.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker today said Salvadoran guerrillas had temporarily occupied the residence of a U.S. Embassy official in San Salvador, until they were expelled by the Army. Baker added that, according to the reports he has received, there are no victims among the U.S. citizens community.

A furniture store close to the U.S. advisers residence was set on fire. According to U.S. sources, the guerrillas' attack did not cause casualties among the advisers. It is not known if the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] members sustained any casualties.

The Army surrounded the military complex area where the attack took place to prevent the rebels from reaching the Defense Ministry and the Armed Forces General Staff headquarters, which was attacked this morning with mortar fire, according to FMLN sources.

A military spokesman denied reports saying the Armed Forces General Staff headquarters had been affected by the guerrillas' mortar fire.

At mid-morning today, special counterinsurgency troops began an operation to try to make the rebels retreat.

FMLN Notes Fighting Near U.S. Envoy's Home

PA2911210089 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1908 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] We have an ACAN-EFE report on the situation in El Salvador. The report reads: The Salvadoran guerrillas today unleashed a new offensive in San Salvador with attacks on military installations and fierce clashes with the Army in several neighborhoods in San Salvador, which continued until midmorning on 29 November. The ACAN-EFE report adds: The guerrillas' actions affected Escalon, San Francisco, and San Benito neighborhoods, where the residences of President Alfredo Cristiani and U.S. Ambassador William Walker are located. [passage omitted]

A local television station reported there were shootouts early this morning on La Capilla Street in San Benito neighborhood, where the residence of U.S. Ambassador William Walker is located. The FMLN and the Army are also fighting in Mejicanos and Ciudad Delgado in northern San Salvador. The FMLN is maintaining positions on the highway linking San Salvador to the western sector of the country. The FMLN reported this morning that its troops ambushed patrols from Armed Forces elite battalions. Witnesses confirmed to ACAN-EFE that the FMLN took positions in Antiguo Cuscatlan, a town southeast of San Salvador.

This has been an ACAN-EFE report on the situation in San Salvador.

More FMLN Reporting on Zacatecoluca Clashes

PA3011015789 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0039 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Here is the official report on the guerrilla victories in northern Zacatecoluca. As we have already reported, at 0900 this morning, we began an annihilation maneuver against the 3d Company of the Nonualco Battalion. This company was operating along with the Atonal Battalion company located in the areas of the San Jose, El Carmen, and El Porvenir farms in Zacatecoluca. The clashes lasted until midday today. The enemy troops received air support during combat from two O-2 light planes. These clashes left 25 dead and 33 injured, as confirmed at the site. The 25 dead include 2 sergeants, 4 corporals, 1 machine gunner, and 2 radio operators. There were a total of 60 confirmed casualties on the northern outskirts of Zacatecoluca.

We seized the following weapons from these troops: 1 90-mm cannon with 5 grenades, 1 M-60 machine gun with 9 ammunition belts, 18 M-16 rifles with accessories, 3 industrial hand grenades, 2 Claymore mines, 2 PRC-77 military communication radios, 23 knapsacks, 5,000 5.56-mm rounds for M-16 rifles, and we took 1 prisoner of war. The captured soldier belongs to the 3d Company of the Nonucalco Battalion and identified himself as Juan Ernesto Rodriguez, a radio operator from La Herradura Canton, Zacatecoluca. Of course, this prisoner of war's life and physical integrity have been respected in accordance with the Geneva Treaties, which is the way the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] treats its prisoners.

Rebels To Evacuate Foreigners From Neighborhoods

PA3011043889 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0338 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Communique issued by the General Command of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador on 29 November]

[Text] This is a communique from the FMLN General Command addressed to all our fighters in San Salvador's Escalon and San Benito neighborhoods:

Our General Command orders all our fighters in Escalon and San Benito to suspend all operations in those neighborhoods between 0600 and 1200 noon on Thursday, 30 November, because we are going to proceed to evacuate foreign personnel in that area. After 1200 noon, we can resume operations there.

[Signed] FMLN General Command, El Salvador, 29 November 1989

Army Claims To Control General Staff HQ Area

PA3011051389 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0340 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] San Salvador, 29 Nov (ACAN-EFE)—The Salvadoran Army gave assurances tonight that the situation "has been controlled" in the vicinity of the Armed Forces General Staff, where today the rebels and the military clashed once again.

Nevertheless, Armed Forces spokesman Major Mauricio Chavez said on a radio and television network that in the Escalon neighborhood "the situation remains difficult because the terrorists have taken several civilians as hostages."

The source said that an unspecified number of civilians are being held hostage by guerrillas in Escalon, an exclusive neighborhood in the northern part of San Salvador, where clashes resumed at dawn on 29 November.

The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) today also attacked the General Staff, a residence for U.S. military advisers, and President Alfredo Cristiani's residence.

The rebels have occupied several mansions from which they are attacking the government troops in an area populated by government officials, diplomats, and where the UN office in El Salvador is located.

According to the officer, the Army has besieged the area and "expects to control the situation within the next few hours."

Major Chavez Caceres reasserted the "Army's irrevocable will to defend the civilian population" in that area, while the Salvadoran Green Cross reported that it has evacuated several families from the sector.

Economy Ministry Freezes Goods, Services Prices

PA3011054889 San Salvador Domestic Service in Spanish 0139 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The Economy Ministry has announced that the maximum sales prices of goods and services established on 10 November will remain in effect for another 15 days, and warns that it will punish speculators.

In a press communique, the ministry states that in view of the current circumstances, Agreement No 320 has been extended for another 15 days as of 28 November. This agreement, issued by the economic branch, states that the maximum sales prices of the various goods and services are those that went into effect on 10 November.

The ministry, meanwhile, warns merchants not to change the current prices, because if they fail to comply with the decision, the Economy Ministry will continue to implement the corresponding sanctions.

Guatemala

Cerezo Comments on Central American Summit

PA2911200189 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1950 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Guatemala City, 28 Nov (ACAN-EFE)—The presidents of Guatemala, Vinicio Cerezo, and Costa Rica, Oscar Arias, are making efforts to hold in Guatemala a "summit" of Central American heads of state that is scheduled to take place in Nicaragua next month. During a news conference at the Office of the President today, Cerezo revealed that Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani has confirmed that he will attend the "summit if it is held in Guatemala and not in Nicaragua."

The Guatemalan president said that he and his Costa Rican counterpart will try to convince Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega to attend the meeting.

The Salvadoran Government suspended diplomatic relations with Nicaragua on 26 November after discovering an arms shipment for the Salvadoran guerrillas aboard a plane which, according to Cristiani, had come from Nicaraguan territory.

Cerezo said that today he will contact Honduran President Jose Azcona Hoyo and added that that country's president-elect, Rafael Leonardo Callejas, could be invited to the summit.

If the "summit" is finalized, Cerezo said, it might be held on 10-15 December prior to a meeting of the Central American foreign ministers who make up the Executive Commission of the "Esquipulas" peace accords.

The Central American summit is scheduled to take place in Managua in mid-December. On 28 November Daniel Ortega pointed out that it should be held in the Nicaraguan capital.

The Guatemalan president added that they will ask the "Group of Eight" for "moral and political" support to ensure that the summit is held and the OAS and United Nations to send observers to the meeting to support the decision to stop "this regional confrontation." Cerezo said that the Salvadoran guerrillas' offensive, the Armed Forces' reaction to it, and developments in Nicaragua have created "a real crisis" within the "Esquipulas" process.

The Guatemalan president said that the suspension of relations between El Salvador and Nicaragua have "brought tension and polarization back to Central America."

It also, he pointed out, diminishes the possibility of establishing a Central American parliament, a forum proposed by Cerezo to discuss regional economic, social, and political problems. "We regret the insistence on using war to solve differences when the best path is negotiation," Cerezo said. He added that this is why he and Arias are making efforts to ensure that the "summit" takes place.

UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar believes that it is "essential" for the five area presidents to meet "as soon as possible" to discuss the "difficulties" that have recently arisen within the regional peace process.

Envoy Claims Ortega Will Not Attend Meeting

PA3011004889 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 29 Nov 89 p 13

[Text] Ricardo Zambrana Diaz, Nicaraguan ambassador to Guatemala, has said: We wish to hold free elections in Nicaragua, and those who are criticizing the elections are following a pattern used by the enemies of democracy.

International observers are watching the actions of regional authorities during the course and development of the election campaign as well as freedom of the press in my country, he added.

Zambrana noted that the negotiations with the contras have been held in Washington and are aimed at achieving definitive peace in Nicaragua.

Commander Daniel Ortega will not travel to Guatemala, which contradicts what has been said on various occasions. However, the fact that preparations are being made for the Central American heads of state to meet to ratify the Esquipulas II agreements and to achieve peace on the isthmus is praiseworthy, Zambrana Diaz said.

Court Martial Sentences 5 Officers to 10 Years

PA3011002089 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2055 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Guatemala City, 29 Nov (ACAN-EFE)—The court-martial which tried the Guatemalan military men involved in the coup attempt of 9 May has sentenced five officers to incommutable 10-year jail terms and has acquitted three others.

The sentences, returned after a public trial that lasted over 48 hours, may be revoked or confirmed by the Fourth Appellate Chamber. The court-martial tried 11 officers on charges of "rebellion and sedition."

The military officers sentenced to 10 years are: Colonels Raul Dehesa Oliva, former commander of the Retalhuleu military base; Juan Adenolfo Galvez, former commander of the Santa Elena air base (Peten); Cesar Quinteros, former National Police director; Oscar Mendez; and Julio Cesar Padilla.

The court-martial, chaired by General Juan Antonio Bolanos, also sentenced Captain Adalberto de la Pena and Sublieutenant Ariel Jose Paiz to incommutable 2-year jail terms. Colonel Efrain Alonso Izaguirre and Captains Carlos Alberto Arriaga and Juan Fernando Folgar were aquitted. Army spokesman Colonel Luis Arturo Isaacs asserted that the Armed Forces will announce the officers' status in the military's ranks "shortly".

On 25 October, a civil court sentenced Major Gustavo Adolfo Diaz and Lieutenant Colonel Gustavo Adolfo Padilla, both of whom were also involved in the coup attempt against President Vinicio Cerezo on 9 May, to 7 years in jail. At that time, a group of military officers supported by soldiers from the Air Force Tactical Group tried to stage a coup, but it was foiled by troops loyal to the government.

The sentences are the first to be returned against military coup plotters in the past 60 years.

U.S. Report on Former Military Officer Received

PA3011031489 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 29 Nov 89 p 88

[Text] President Cerezo has commented on the case of former Lieutenant Colonel Hugo Francisco Moran Carranza and has announced that he has received a report from the U.S. Consulate with the evidence that Ambassador Thomas Strook had mentioned.

Cerezo said that the report does not contain any specific evidence, only a list of suspicions that do not say a thing. He added that he will study the report and make a decision based on the results. Cerezo added that the problem will be solved within a week.

Nicaragua

Ortega Delivers Speech at Tourism Seminar

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[Speech by President Daniel Ortega at a tourism seminar at the Olof Palme Convention Center in Managua—live]

[Text] Good morning, dear friends and comrades. This is the first time I have met with you. I have held [words indistinct] of "Face The People" meetings all these years. [passage indistinct] with social, economic, and religious groups. I have also met with the business sector, but I have not met with you before. As Comrade [name indistinct] said, I had not yet met with you because I trust his work and because I trust [words indistinct], all the Nicaraguans who participate in tourism activities.

This is a great opportunity to talk to you about the main efforts the Nicaraguan Government and the revolution are currently making to create the best possible conditions so all social and economic groups can develop their own activities.

Obviously, tourism is a very important activity, but you have to understand that our overall economy includes many factors we cannot neglect. A country's development of tourism depends on social and political stability, and, at the same time, social and political stability depend on economic stability.

That is the great dilemma that all developing countries, the so-called Third World countries, are experiencing. These countries are not poor. We are wealthy countries; we have enormous potential wealth. The countries of the so-called Third World were so rich that the more developed countries devoted their time to plundering our countries. The African, Asian, and Latin American riches have been plundered. This means we have been victims of an impoverishment policy. We have been driven to poverty. It is not that we are poor countries but that we have been impoverished.

This current dilemma is linked to the attitude always adopted by the more developed countries toward the less

developed countries. In the past, European development allowed European countries to occupy African, Asian, and Latin American countries and to plunder them. There was never a policy to pull these countries out of their backwardness, although they possess many natural resources and great human potential. These countries were denied cultural and scientific development because that development was and continues to be a monopoly of the industrialized countries.

On 27 October in San Jose, Costa Rica, we held a very important meeting. It was an important meeting because representatives of the Latin American and Caribbean countries and two great representatives of the industrialized, developed countries, the U.S. President and the Canadian prime minister, were all sitting around one single table.

All the countries represented there made the same speech and raised the same problem. We stated that if the industrialized countries, especially the United States, the leading industrialized country, refuse to make greater efforts to relieve the Latin American countries of their foreign debt burden, that if the industrialized countries refuse to make greater efforts to change economic relations.... [changes thought] The friend who spoke here just before me as a representative of the private sector mentioned protectionism. Protectionism is not good in fact, but sometimes the state is forced to adopt protectionist measures because of very serious and grave crises.

At the same time, that situation depends on the protectionist measures adopted by the industrialized countries against the developing countries. In other words, the industrialized countries, the European countries, and the United States adopt protectionist measures and establish trade standards; their priority is of course to protect those countries' economies. That immediately places the developing countries at a great disadvantage.

We are denied access to technological development, which continues to be a monopoly of the highly industrialized countries, and therefore we are denied the possibility to develop in general.

At the meeting in San Jose on the afternoon of 27 October, the Latin American presidents expressed their great concern. I noticed that they were more concerned than I was. They were more concerned than I was. The Latin American presidents stated that because of the foreign debt problem and the net transfer of capital.... [changes thought] Because the truth is that the $24 billion coming out of the Latin American economy further enrich the economies of the industrialized countries. That is an unfair relationship. It is absurd. The poor countries contribute to further enriching the wealthy countries, the countries already rolling in money. Those countries have so much money that they can invest billions of dollars in armaments.

What was the Latin American presidents' great concern? Well, they said that Latin America has made efforts in the political field. We have held elections in some of our countries, but that has not solved the problem of democracy, they said. The economic crisis worsens, and we have no way to handle it, and the industrialized countries do not have a constructive attitude toward this problem. In addition, the Latin American presidents harshly criticized the IMF and the World Bank.

Under the present circumstances, the only things that are strengthened are extremist attitudes. That is what the Latin American presidents told Bush. In the present circumstances, only extremist attitudes are strengthened, both the attitudes of the extreme left and the extreme right, the presidents said. And this is so because there is social unrest and therefore political unrest. That unrest leads to social and political outbursts. What are our options, given these social and political outbursts? On the one hand, there is the appearance of rightist forces that promote military coups, and on the other hand, the people have no other choice but to carry out a revolution.

The Latin American presidents demanded that the U.S. President and the Canadian prime minister establish a true and real dialogue between the North and the South, between the industrialized north with its economic might and technological development and the increasingly poor south.

There are figures proving that the economies of the Latin American countries have been increasingly deteriorating. These figures prove that inflation rates are increasingly higher and that unemployment is growing. These figures also prove that basic economic activities, including farming and industrial activities, have been seriously reduced.

This is a truly dramatic scenario regarding Latin America's economic, social, and political realities, and this was the great concern that the Latin American presidents very seriously, respectfully, responsibly, and firmly expressed at the meeting in San Jose.

I obviously spoke about that. I put special emphasis on the Central American situation, the respect the United States must have for the peace agreements made by the Central American presidents, the Nicaraguans' right to peace, and the need for greater exchange and greater cohesion among the Latin American countries. That is the problem. Our speeches concur, but the United States can keep us divided. We meet, we reach agreements, and we have similar views. However, when the time comes to act, they manages to divide us.

That is the Latin American countries' weakness. I want to recall the speech given by Brazilian President Sarney at the San Jose meeting. It was a very good speech, and in it he referred to a statement previously made by Ecuadoran President Borja. Borja said that we were experiencing an inverted Marshall Plan. You should recall that at the end of World War II the United States sent large amounts of money to Europe to help rebuild

the economies of all the European countries that had been devastated by the war. That was the famous Marshall Plan.

Latin America has never had a Marshall Plan. President Borja said that Latin America is experiencing an inverted Marshall Plan. In other words, instead of giving us money, the United States is taking money away from us. This has been Latin America's historical relationship with the United States and the industrialized countries. They have applied an inverted Marshall Plan.

We have never been treated in a way in which the Latin American countries' economies could develop and their technology could be strengthened. We have been economically discriminated against.

The Brazilian president said he agreed with President Borja—that we are indeed facing an inverted Marshall Plan. He added that no matter how often we discussed the same problem, he still did not see any way in which the industrialized countries would implement a real Marshall Plan or something similar to it for Latin America. Such a plan would entail a large flow of capital that would boost the Latin American economies and free the countries from their foreign debt burdens.

The battle is on in that respect. However, what can Latin America do right now? We can increase trade exchange between our countries. We can strengthen the ties between us. We can strengthen real ties. I am not talking about just saying things or signing a statement after a meeting, but about real economic, trade and service activities. These activities will help strengthen the Latin American front. That is what we can do. We can demand different treatment from the industrialized countries; however, the industrialized countries' response to this does not depend solely on us, but also on them, and the industrialized countries continue to follow a very blind and hard line toward us.

Trade exchange among Latin American countries, however, depends on us. I would say that we could attain more Central American trade exchange, and as for the Nicaraguan situation, we could also attain more exchange. We could complement our industrial activity with the work of Nicaraguan producers who lead various sectors of the Nicaraguan economy, including employment. We are talking about small, medium, and large businesses that are involved in service activities and tourism.

We have been working with that idea in mind since the triumph of the revolution, and we have tried to strengthen all of the country's economic and social activities.

When we thought about developing tourism in Nicaragua after the triumph of the revolution, we realized we had to provide tourist activities for the Nicaraguan people before thinking of developing tourism for foreigners, even though we knew that the latter would give us foreign exchange. We first had to offer decent tourist activities for the Nicaraguan people. That desire made us develop the tourist activities mentioned by Comrade Minister Herty Lewites.

We had talked about those tourist activities. I have been supporting those activities, but always based on the principle that we first had to develop local tourism. We introduced a revolutionary change, and it was therefore absurd that the revolution's first steps would be aimed at organizing tourism for foreigners and not at organizing tourist activities for the Nicaraguan people.

I would like to emphasize that we significantly improved the physical conditions of tourist facilities for the humble, for workers, and for people who could not even dream of going to a tourist center like Pochomil or El Trapiche. Today, the humble have access to those tourist centers and to the ones in Oliwas, Granada, and all the other tourist centers we could mention.

We have also promoted tourism for workers and peasants who live in mining areas or deep in mountainous regions. Those people had no idea what tourism is; they had no idea what a beach looks like. Today, and thanks to the revolution, we have thousands of Nicaraguans, men, women, and children, workers from the mountains and the mining areas, humble people in general.... [Ortega changes thought] I have seen them when I have visited some of those tourist centers. I have met with them there and talked with them. They even feel overwhelmed by the way they are treated in those centers.

We also realized that it was important to find additional support for tourist activities—above and beyond the state's support. I must point out that at a certain time the state had a tendency to monopolize service activities to the detriment of the private sector. However, we realized that that was not right, that we had to change our policy, and that the state had to be in charge of large tourist projects for both Nicaraguans and foreigners. We realized that the state and INTURISMO [Nicaraguan Institute for Tourism] had to do that. We realized INTURISMO had to promote and even transfer many of its tourist activities to the private sector.

There were Somozist service activities that INTURISMO was running, but that small, medium, or large private businesses could run even better. We were not interested in monopolizing tourist services. That was never our goal. Thus, the implementation of this new policy has allowed us to revitalize service activities in the private sector, using all sizes of businesses.

I have even talked to Herty about the need to get foreigners and Nicaraguan businessmen who are interested in working with the state involved in these tourist services to obtain foreign exchange. We can easily form mixed enterprises linking up the state, local businessmen, and foreign businessmen. In other words, the three groups can join their efforts in these activities.

It is true that this Montelimar tourist project has been criticized. No one could understand how a revolution

could build a tourist center for foreigners; a tourist center that only wealthy Nicaraguans would be able to visit. No one could understand how nudist camps would be allowed at this tourist center—and there will be nudist camps. [laughter] This gave rise to many problems, but this is part of our country's freedom of expression. However, I am convinced that this will bring foreign exchange into the country. INTURISMO [Nicaraguan Institute for Tourism and the Environment] has brought foreign exchange into the country. Some of this foreign exchange has been reinvested in tourist and social activities and some of it has been used by the government to meet the strong demands for foreign exchange from other economic sectors we must also attend to.

For example, yesterday I went to Chontales and attended a meeting with cattlemen. They have their problems. There are some contradictions between the cattle breeders and the graziers. They have their differences, and each is making demands. I also recently visited Rio Blanco, Wiwi, and Matiguas, and found that there are problems with the dairy sector because PROLACSA [Dairy Products Incorporated] can no longer buy the milk they produce. I promised to find a solution to their problem, because they have 40,000 liters of milk to offer that is not being used.

Also in the Rio Blanco, Wiwi, Matiguas, Nueva Guinea, and other areas, there are problems with basic grains because ENABAS [Nicaraguan Enterprise for Staple Foods] did not have the money to buy those basic grains. Therefore, I met with the planning council. This matter had not been included in my agenda, but I decided to discuss it because it is a pressing problem and because the peasants were present. One peasant said that he had delivered his basic grains to ENABAS and ENABAS did not pay him; other peasants said that ENABAS did not want to purchase their goods and they were going to have to sell their products to businessmen who were not willing to pay as much as ENABAS had promised. What was the problem?

Well, our country's loan policy has been restricted because we have implemented a very strong economic plan. This economic plan forces us to monitor our loans. Demands for loans total 600 billion cordobas, and until recently our real loan capacity was 300 billion cordobas; that is, [4-second break in reception] percent of the amount being requested by all the sectors, by the social, productive, and other sectors. ENABAS asked for 160 billion cordobas to buy basic grains from the peasant at a set price, the set price established by ENABAS. The price ENABAS quotes is a set price, and the amount it requested for purchasing basic grains was not enough. When the time for purchasing came around, ENABAS did not have enough to cover the demands of the producers [7-second break in reception]. We approved 60 billion [2-second break in reception] and they needed 145 billion. This explains why ENABAS did not have the money to purchase the basic grains.

I told the peasants the following: Remember that for a time here—and this has to do with the supplying of restaurants and other services Herty mentioned—we made an effort, through ENABAS and MICOIN [Domestic Trade Ministry] to buy all the basic grains. In other words, we monopolized the business. The state would buy all the basic grains. The state set a price and the peasant was forced to sell at that set price. The state would then take that product and distribute it among the people. You will recall that territorial distribution network we created. We did this so that everyone would receive at least a few beans, a little rice, a little cooking oil, a little bit of everything, at a stable price. In time this created a lot of tension because the peasants had no incentive; it was more profitable for the peasant to stop growing corn or beans and buy them from ENABAS or the state distribution center. The state was then forced to import beans and corn and pay for this with its liquid foreign exchange. It was then that we decided that the market had to be free. The situation reached such a point that when traffic jams occurred on the highway and someone was carrying a sack of basic grains, it was taken from him. This created a problem in supplying the restaurants, very great problems, and we found ourselves rationing the amount allotted to the restaurants. Basic grains for restaurants and hotels were rationed. Not only were basic grains rationed, but we also rationed other non-basic products. We also needed other consumer products necessary for those activities that provide services. We then freed up the market. What does freeing up the market mean? It means that the peasant will sell his product to the buyer who will pay the best price. It means that the state's monopoly over the basic grains' market no longer exists. From that moment on, ENABAS became just another businessman and not the only businessman. It became just another businessman. This then placed ENABAS in a difficult situation. ENABAS does not have the money to buy, it has set a certain price for the product, and it was also affected by many businessmen who went directly to the basic grains producer and said: I will give you so much for a quintal of corn or a quintal of beans. The peasant has found himself having to deal with that businessman because ENABAS could not buy. However, that businessman offered the peasant much less than the price set by ENABAS. ENABAS calculated its purchasing price based on a minimal profit margin. However, the producer loses when the businessman offers less than ENABAS is offering. Many peasants are worried, and they are demanding that ENABAS purchase their products.

I told the peasants: First of all, ENABAS has no obligation to purchase your products. ENABAS does not have to buy your products because we have a free market policy. Therefore, ENABAS does not have to purchase your products. However, we do have a social responsibility to the consumer and we have a responsibility to you. We did some planning, and looked for money, from one place or another, to cover the demand that ENABAS had to purchase the basic grains. This is the same situation experienced by the cotton, coffee, and sugar

producers, the same situation experienced by the people involved in the various economic activities in our country.

What does this mean? It means that the Nicaraguan economy is also subject to the pressures of an unfair international economic order. To this we must add the effects of the war, the blockade, and the embargo. I am responsible for protecting the interests of the various economic and social sectors of the country.

Here I also met with teachers who are receiving very low wages. However, what is the solution? We are not in a position to pay teachers the wages they should be receiving. If we wanted teachers to get better, or good, wages, we would have to fire half of them and pay the remaining teachers better wages. The wages that we would no longer have to pay to the teachers who have been sent home would be divided among the remaining teachers. This would mean sacrificing the education of half the children currently attending school. Therefore, we must appeal to the conscience of all the Nicaraguans so that together we can overcome this difficult situation we are experiencing, a difficult situation that is closely linked to the U.S. Government's attitude against Nicaragua. I believe it is important that we take into consideration that at this time important things are happening in the world's geopolitical situation. The USSR has decided to implement a foreign policy in which it has practically renounced what has been described as its area of strategic influence and security. The USSR is allowing each country in the Eastern Bloc to decide what it wants to do. This has happened in Poland, Hungary, and the GDR.

On the other hand, we have the United States. The United States is bent on holding on to what it calls its area of strategic influence. We see what is happening in the East, what is happening in the USSR and the Eastern Bloc, but very little is happening, especially in Latin America, in the area that the United States considers to be a strategic security area. If the United States were to be consistent with its words and proposals, it would be obligated to stop talking—it would have no excuse to talk—about bloc policies, stop saying that the USSR is defending strategic borders beyond its own territory, or using the excuse that it was using until recently to justify intervention and aggression in Latin America and the Caribbean. This excuse will no longer be valid. We have not yet seen the effects of this policy—I believe these will be positive effects—in Latin America and the Caribbean. In other words, the example of the USSR must be followed by the United States in Latin America. Just as the Soviets are respecting the decisions made by the Eastern Bloc countries, the United States must respect the decisions made by the Latin American and Caribbean countries. I am saying this because [2-second break in reception] Nicaragua has been a victim of a U.S. interventionist policy implemented to justify what they call the Soviet threat. Well then, that is disappearing now. What Soviet threat will they talk about now? Bush will have to follow Gorbachev's example. The United States will have to follow the example of the USSR. And since it is making such a big fuss—a big scandal—over the so-called toppling of the Berlin Wall, then the U.S. interventionist policy in Latin America will also have to fall.

However, the United States is always threatening Latin America, especially Nicaragua, and Nicaragua is what interests us the most, because to develop tourism and have economic development we need peace. Peace is an indispensable element. You know that countries with stability can easily conduct their political activity. However, in a country where there is no stability, political activity is limited. I have been working to make peace a reality in Nicaragua.

When I spoke on 26 October at the hemispheric summit in Costa Rica about the cease-fire, and later on 1 November when I proposed the meeting at the United Nations, I did this to accelerate the peace process in Nicaragua so we would not be living in permanent agony from one cease-fire or truce to the next while enduring a continuing underlying war.

The Central American presidents have an agreement that we signed on 7 August 1987. After that, the Central American presidents took more specific actions and reached other agreements. The last one was signed on 7 August of this year in Honduras. If we have taken these important actions to have an agreement wherein we have established a time frame for the contras to demobilize, which is 5 December, the logical thing to do was to exert pressure so the agreement would be complied with, because time was running out and steps were not being taken to secure it. That discussion process is under way.

The talks will continue today in Washington with the participation of the OAS, the United Nations, Cardinal Obando, Nicaragua, Honduras, and the contras. The contras have tried to withdraw from the talks since Wednesday, but CIAV [International Commission on Support and Verification] undertook efforts with some U.S. Government representatives that allowed the contras to sit down at the table to talk once again.

I have the impression that the U.S. Government wants to find a way out of this problem but is losing control of the contras. There are always extremist sectors in the United States that support, encourage, and abet contra activities. The next few days will be decisive for reaching an agreement. We hope that an agreement will be reached. If an agreement is not reached, we will take whatever measures are necessary to put an end for once and for all to the contras' activities and ensure compliance with the agreements signed by the Central American countries, so that we will have total peace in Nicaragua.

We must take into account that this effort, this battle we have waged over the years to achieve peace in Nicaragua, has not only been accompanied by actions taken to defend the country and actions abroad, but also by actions taken in the economic field. The economic plan that we are implementing this year—an anti-inflationary

plan which is aimed at increasing production in the country; therefore, it is a plan that will create better conditions for the development of service and tourist activities—is progressing despite the great pressure exerted by the United States to undermine the plan and make it fail. This is of great importance because only a revolutionary government can implement an economic plan like this one and have the trust and support of the workers; the plan has the support and trust of the workers, who also criticize it. We cannot say that the workers are constantly applauding this plan. I have met here with teachers, health workers, rural workers, and representatives of the industrial sector, and they do not applaud the plan. They understand it and believe that it is aimed at saving the economy. They know that once the economy has been saved there will be more money and wealth to be distributed and this will improve the Nicaraguan people's standard of living. They trust what I am telling them and what the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] tells them. They trust us. However, I do not find or see an alternative to the FSLN [27-second break in reception].

I have given you Venezuela as an example. I am friends and have a good relationship with the Venezuelan president. He won the elections by a large majority. When he took office he received great international support, but a few days after taking office he implemented an economic plan—a million times less tough than ours, our plan is a million times tougher than the plan he implemented in Venezuela—and this unleashed a social outcry. The people took to the streets and many were killed. Similar social outcries have occurred in several Latin American countries when economic plans like this one have been implemented. The tragedy of the Latin American countries is that they are all implementing economic policies, but with a disadvantage. They are not revolutionary governments. Even though these are governments chosen by the people, they have one weakness: They do not have the trust of the worker, laborer, peasant, or the popular sectors. There is no trust. In a sense, these plans are quite vulnerable when implemented in those countries. Another problem these plans face is that they are implemented totally under the control of the IMF, and the IMF is very harsh.

I have said that the economic plan we have implemented is an IMF profile plan, but there is a difference. It is not tied to IMF policies. The IMF did not draft, approve, finance, or follow up this plan. It is a plan approved by Nicaraguans, discussed with the Planning Council, with the FSLN National Directorate, party members, workers, and all sectors of the population. It is a plan that has the support of the people. It is not tied to the IMF. The IMF would not allow us to do many of the things that we are doing here.

For example, in March or April, right here, in this same place, I met with a group of producers. I met with producers from all sectors, even producers who are members of a political, counterrevolutionary group known as the COSEP [Higher Council of Private Enterprise]. They met with me here. They all talked about their economic problems. It was right here that I decided to given them, the cotton producers who had lost their crop, a million cordobas per manzana of cotton that they had lost. At that time I approved a million cordobas per manzana of cotton lost. The cotton producers who had planted 40 manzanas of cotton received 40 million cordobas. The cotton producers who had planted 100 manzanas of cotton received 100 million cordobas. This was to help them handle the loss they had experienced. This is something the IMF does not allow. The IMF is very strict in that sense. If you lose your crop, you lose your crop and that is it; you are no longer in the economic or social picture; and if you had a good crop, then you survive. The IMF has an "every man for himself" type of policy. The IMF policy does not allow for government flexibility, and this is why the Latin American governments live in anguish, because of that policy. They live in anguish. Why? Because they are being pressured by the workers.

For example, those governments cannot make wage adjustments the way we make them. We have made wage readjustments in accordance with the situation experienced by the sector. For example, we know that the situation the teachers are facing is not good; their wages are too low. So what did we decide to do? We decided to adjust the wages for the teachers and health workers. Fifty-six percent of the budget was cut back. This means that government workers' wages are very low. We therefore implemented the policy of distributing rice, beans, and cooking oil, and sometimes packages of sugar, to those workers. We know that they need this help. Their wages cannot be increased, they are working for fixed wages and do not have the same chances as industrial sector workers, who receive incentives. Government workers do not receive incentives; they are tied to a fixed wage. Therefore, the economic policies we are implementing in Nicaragua are going well; we are having some problems, but the plan is going well. The plan has been criticized, strongly criticized. The workers have criticized the plan because they feel that it is advantageous only for the producer. However, we have explained to the worker that if production is not increased and inflation is not contained, there will be no wealth to distribute among the workers.

In this discussion we find that some sectors have a negative attitude. There are some sectors that have a very negative attitude toward this plan. I would love to see them trying to handle a plan such as this one. They would not be able to handle it for a single second. The people would immediately turn on them; the people would not trust them. However, it is important that you know that this economic plan is working, that after many international efforts and despite U.S. pressures, we have been able to get some money that will help alleviate the pressure we were confronting in implementing the plan. We can continue with the plan and keep it from falling apart. I can assure you that the plan is not falling apart,

thanks to the attitude assumed by the workers and producers and because of the support we have been receiving from some friendly countries that have offered financing to save the economic plan.

The economic plan we have been implementing since January was highly rated by the IMF. The IMF attended a meeting held in May in Stockholm because the Swedes invited them. Other international organizations were also invited. And so the IMF as well as the others there felt that the Nicaraguan program was extraordinary. They continue to rate it an extraordinary program.

In fact, what we did to curb the inflation rate and reduce the deficit constitutes an effort that could only be made possible thanks to the ties and trust that exist between the revolutionary government and the workers. Undoubtedly this effort entails support from most of the producers in the agricultural and industrial sectors and the service sector.

I am explaining all this to you because it constitutes the foundations that the country needs. The country needs the following foundation: It needs stability. Stability is the base on which we can develop tourism. That base is built with peace; and peace is built with an international political effort, the country's defense capabilities, and also the economic program we are implementing. So we combined those factors: the economic program, strengthening the military defense of the revolution, and international political efforts, as well as constant intiatives in this field.

With these three elements we have been constantly creating a situation of stability in Nicaragua. We cannot say that there is total stability; but with each passing day, we are closer to total stability and peace in Nicaragua. I want to congratulate you, employees or businessmen who work in the service sector linked to tourism activities in a direct or indirect manner, for trusting yourselves. A person who runs away does not trust himself. You trusted yourselves by staying in the country in the midst of major difficulties. You have also trusted the Nicaraguan Government, the revolution, and the efforts by [words indistinct].

With that trust, expressed through very specific actions, and the new plans, we will continue to develop, and taking into consideration the concerns voiced today, I can assure you that we will not only achieve stability and peace for Nicaragua, but we will also achieve economic and social development, and therefore, tourism development. Thank you. [applause]

Ortega Defends Pact To Hold Summit in Managua

PA3011022989 Managua Sistema Sandinista Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] The people of Santa Teresa gave President Daniel Ortega a huge welcome when he visited this town. President Ortega walked 2 km from the Santa Teresa Junction to Santa Teresa Square.

At the square, in front of hundreds of citizens, President Ortega recalled the Central American presidents' agreement to hold the next summit in Managua. He said that Nicaragua will defend this agreement.

[Begin Ortega recording] [words indistinct] The meeting of Central American presidents must take place in Nicaragua [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Regarding the Salvadoran Government's position on diplomatic relations with Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega recalled that the Yankees use the Honduran and Salvadoran Armies to send supplies to the counterrevolutionaries. Nevertheless, the Nicaraguan Government has not broken relations with those countries.

[Begin Ortega recording] Nicaragua is not giving up on the peace plan. On the contrary, we are not going to let the Salvadoran Government get away with the [words indistinct] that phase of the Esquipulas agreement. We are going to wage a struggle in the international field—in Central America, Latin America, and the world—so there is compliance with agreements, human rights are respected in El Salvador, the contras are expelled from Honduran territory, and there is really peace, democracy, justice, and liberty in Central America. [end recording]

Ortega Decorates Soviet Deputy Minister Kachanov

PA2911020189 Managua Sistema Sandinista Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] On 25 November, President Daniel Ortega Saavedra presented Aleksandr Kachanov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations, with the 10th Revolution Anniversary decoration. The Nicaraguan Government presented the decoration in recognition of the unconditional cooperation granted by the USSR during the 10 years of revolution, thus contributing to the country's survival.

President Ortega highlighted the exemplary relations between the two countries.

[Begin Ortega recording] [Words indistinct] ...relations with developing countries. Relations between the USSR and Nicaragua have been friendly and very respectful. [end recording]

The Soviet official, after expressing thanks for the distinction in the name of his people and government, referred to the cooperation between the two countries:

[Begin Kachanov recording—in Russian, fading into Spanish translation] The session has completed its work discussing economic, commercial and technical-scientific cooperation. We studied a series of additional measures aimed at raising the efficiency of our cooperation. Attention was focused mainly on fulfilling the 1990 obligations as well as defining prospects for future cooperation, for 1990 and subsequent years. [end recording]

The first deputy minister of foreign economic relations also referred to projects for next year and subsequent years. Kachanov highlighted that next week a Nicaraguan delegation will travel to the USSR to complete the final details on delivery of oil and petroleum derivatives for December, January, and February. Kachanov headed the Soviet delegation at the joint Nicaraguan-Soviet commission work sessions.

FSLN Deputy Blames U.S. on Salvador Decision

PA2911190189 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1930 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] Deputy Julio Marenco said that the Salvadoran Government's decision to break relations with Nicaragua was ordered by the U.S. Government to hinder the Nicaraguan Government and contra dialogue and compliance with the Tela agreements because the contras must demobilize on 5 December.

[Begin Marenco recording] This attitude assumed by the Salvadoran Government does not surprise us. I believe that they are just following Yankee orders to hinder the summit and the Esquipulas Agreement. The demobilization of the contras is near. This must take place no later than 5 December. This is an attitude designed to disregard the agreement. The reason they have given—aid to the Salvadoran revolutionary movement—is nothing new. However, they have never been able to prove it. It has been more than proven that the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] fights, has areas under its control, and its main supplier of weapons is the Salvadoran Army. It has been proven that the FMLN uses the same weapons that the Salvadoran Army uses. For years they have been talking about the famous aid that we give those revolutionary forces; however, they have never been able to present proof. This new attitude follows the orders of the Yankee empire to hinder the agreements that are about to be fulfilled. No one can say anything about us. The revolutionary government, the FSLN, is ready. We are waiting for them to do their part. Tomorrow, in fact, we will be fulfilling the last agreement we signed with the political parties. We are going to be discussing the civil service and administrative career draft bill. We have fulfilled what we committed ourselves to in the Tela and Costa del Sol agreements. Now we are waiting for them to fulfill their part so that we can then begin the other phase; that is, the general amnesty and release of the remaining counterrevolutionaries who are in jail. This new move is just a way to destroy the progress made in Central America. It is a pity and plain stupidity because it is an apolitical decision.

[Reporter] What about Ortega's response? Was it too harsh?

[Marenco] All he said was that we are not interested in having relations with criminals. However, we are always trying to achieve peace. President Ortega has more than proven the government's nature for peace. Despite this, I believe that we are going to continue to do our best to achieve peace. Peace is a goal we have and we are going to achieve it despite the cost. [end recording]

Envoy Asks UN To Address Salvadoran Issue

PA3011025889 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1930 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Alejandro Serrano Caldera, permanent Nicaraguan representative to the United Nations, has asked for an expansion of the agenda of the meeting of the UN Security Council requested by the Salvadoran Government's representative to discuss that country's internal situation. The meeting will be held on the afternoon of 30 November. Serrano expects the UN Security Council to call for a stop to the bloodletting in El Salvador and for a cease-fire.

[Begin Serrano recording, in progress] ...until the next Central American summit; several personalities, countries, and organizations are involved in those negotiations. When we learned of this, we immediately asked for an appointment with UN Security Council President Li Luye, who is the PRC ambassador to the United Nations. Incidentally, Luye's term as chairman ends today, and beginning tomorrow the new chairman will be Enrique Penaloza, the Colombian permament representative.

I will attend this meeting today at 1530. However, I faxed him a letter in which we asked for the topics on the agenda be expanded in order to discuss matters related to the internal Salvadoran situation and its repercussions in Central America. It reads as follows:

Mr Chairman:

Having learned of the request filed with you by the Salvadoran permament representative in a note he addressed to your excellency on 27 November 1988 [as heard], I take the liberty of asking you that the objectives of the urgent meeting of the UN Security Council be expanded to include a review of the serious repercussions of the situation in El Salvador on the Central American peace process.

This is essentially what our letter says. I will deliver it personally to him today at 1530 and will discuss with him all matters concerning the council session, which will be held tomorrow at 1630.

We want the UN Security Council to issue a statement making an appeal or voicing concern over the situation in El Salvador. We want it to ask for a halt to the bloodletting and to express concern over the status of human rights and the repeated violations of them in that country. We want it to call for a concerted cease-fire and an immediate, effective, and substantive negotiating process. [end recording]

India Donates $8 Million Worth of Supplies

PA2911023989 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 22 Nov 89 p 1

[Text] The Indian Government has approved a donation of about $8 million in goods for the Nicaraguan Government. This donation is an immediate result of President Daniel Ortega's meeting with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi at the Nonaligned Movement summit recently held in Belgrade.

Foreign Cooperation Minister Commander Henry Ruiz said that during his stay in New Delhi it was agreed that Nicaragua would receive 220 "Mahindra" (American Willys-type) jeeps to be used by cattle raisers. Nicaragua will also receive 10,000 bicycles and 500 motor-tricycles for short trips. There will be a 6-month delay in getting the jeeps because at the moment they only have right-hand drive—as used in England and most of her former colonies—so that they will have to be manufactured with left-hand drive for Nicaragua.

The total donation amounts to 130 million rupees—Indian currency. On 21 November Pedro Antonio Blandon, deputy minister of foreign cooperation, showed the BARRICADA reporter the letter from the Nicaraguan Embassy in New Delhi. The donation includes men's and women's clothing, hospital equipment, medicine, and supplies for the textile and shoe industry.

Radio Corporacion on Excessive Spare Parts Taxes

PA2911005389 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 1200 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Interview with Radio Corporacion owner Jose Castillo Ocejo by Roger Mendieta in Managua; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Castillo] About 2 and ½ months ago we brought from the United States four boxes of spare parts that are very important for our transmitter sites and our studio equipment. We received a line of credit from the same agency we have always worked with and from which we bought all the equipment. We received a little over $6,000 in spare parts out of the $15,000 line of credit. The spare parts arrived in the country 10 weeks ago. One day the bank asked for something. After the 15 days it took the bank to do its paperwork we had to go the General Media Directorate, and that took a month. Afterward we had to go to the finance department. The law currently in effect states radio equipment and spare parts are exempt from taxes. However, everybody plays dumb. Even international treaties protect radio stations, but no one can give an answer. The only answer we get is a bill. For $6,000 worth of spare parts we have to pay the astronomical sum of 295 million cordobas. What do you think of that? It means that Radio Corporacion must pay more in taxes than the spare parts are worth. What do you think? Do you think this is what the law states or is this another politically motivated action?

[Mendieta] I think this is yet another act of political foolishness or a faux pas. This is a political mistake. The Sandinists approved the media law which contained a paragraph.... [changes thought] The Constitution contains references to the news media and freedom of expression, stating that radio stations, newspapers, and so forth could bring in their spare parts, isn't that right?

[Castillo] The law mentions that.

[Mendieta] This act of political foolishness leads nowhere. [Words indistinct] the way the Sandinists should act. However, there is a lot of commitment [words indistinct] each person interprets the law and does as he pleases. There are number of decisions that often harm the Sandinist National Liberation Front. It seems that this is a mistake they would do best to [words indistinct] and try to correct it.

[Castillo] We want to go on record as saying—and I am taking advantage of this program due to its large nationwide audience—that we may go off the air because of lack of spare parts. The spare parts are there, but we are charged an amount equal to what we earn in 2 months. If we were to pay we could not hire our staff and would also have to go off the air, since we have no money to pay. You can imagine what paying 295 million cordobas in taxes is. And as the cordoba continues to fall, the price of the dollar rises and so do the taxes. We go on the record .... [changes thought] The Supreme Electoral Council now is in charge of implementing the media law, but the orders continue to come from the General Media Directorate.

Contras Kill Soldiers in Ambush in Wiwili Area

PA2811230589 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 2010 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] An EPS [Sandinist People's Army] lieutenant and two soldiers were killed yesterday in a contra ambush near Wiwili, Jinotega Department. Sub-lieutenant Jorge Mora Acevedo and soldiers Fermin Cardenas and Ramon Chavarria were traveling in a Wasp jeep when they were ambushed by approximately 30 contras. Cristobal Carcamo, Natividad Hernandez, and Carlos Espinoza, three soldiers who were traveling in another vehicle, were wounded during the attack. In response to the ambush, four of the criminals who carried out the ambush were annihilated by the EPS, which continues to pursue the rest of the contra force.

* 'Secret' Paper Reveals FSLN Campaign Plans

90EM0038A Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 25-27 Oct 89

[25 Oct, pp 1, 12]

[Text] Insecurity, anguish, and uncertainty with respect to the political-military conditions that will prevail after the elections currently characterize the attitude of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) toward its

Campaign Plan for Region 3. The plan was presented by Carlos Carrion to members of the so-called "Assembly of Cadres" last 8 September.

The document obtained by LA PRENSA consists of 15 pages, and it contains what Carrion calls "the tactical lines for winning the elections in Managua," as well as the points where the FSLN considers itself "strong or weak."

With election day nearly 3 months away, the Sandinist Front is admitting to its most important "cadres" that "it does not have victory in its hands, and therefore nothing can be predicted." It is very concerned about the "context" for after the elections, and it considers the only alternative to be what the FSLN leadership has already stated.

"To win the elections with such an overwhelming popular consensus that the American government could not easily question the results." That is the battle of the moment, the FSLN Campaign Plan states in its introduction, based on what "the commander" has said. It does not specify which commander it means.

Carrion confesses to the "Assembly of Cadres" that the Sandinists do not hope for a White House recognition of their victory, but they do hope that significant interest groups in the United States will accept it. The idea is to create a division in the administration and public opinion in the United States, he explains.

On that point he is more specific, claiming that the goal is to divide the mass media. He notes, for example, that if THE NEW YORK TIMES says that the elections were fraudulent, the Sandinists must make sure that THE WASHINGTON POST says they were excellent.

"The more worried we are about the future, the more surely and aggressively we should pursue our short-term objectives," the Sandinist candidate for mayor of Managua states in another part of the document.

No One Will Give a Penny

He indicates that the FSLN's goal is to win the elections with more than 70 percent of the votes, because only in this way would they be recognized by the vast majority of countries in the world. He acknowledges that no one will give them a penny until the elections are over. It is so clear that Nicaragua will not receive any economic aid before the elections, that he calls upon the "Assembly of Cadres" to seek election financing so as not to deprive government institutions or productive programs of funding, "which is a difficult situation for us," he says.

Failure Admitted

Another element that is considered important, though not specifically mentioned, is the fact that the Campaign Plan is the grassroots political work that they must develop. After 10 years, he admitted, this effort has been a failure because "we were not always able to develop or carry out our work on a daily basis."

The FSLN's inability to interpret reality is crudely expressed by Carrion himself in his Campaign Plan for Region 3. Engaging in an exercise of "self-criticism," he recognizes the distance that has grown between the Nicaraguan Government and the most urgent needs of the Nicaraguan people, as the government makes decisions according to the criteria of a small circle of people who are involved only in the Sandinist movement.

The error lies in having "assessed the situation in accordance with what we are told by the same circle of people," who have been working with us for 4, 5, and even 10 years. These people already have sworn enemies, and they are capable of "convincing you that so-and-so is a Contra," and then afterwards we realize that the situation is different, confesses the document obtained by LA PRENSA.

True and False Statistics

"We don't stop to find out whether things are true," Carlos Carrion states calmly on page 4, and without proposing corrective measures he accepts that the political statistics released in the Sandinist media are quite different from the precise analysis that the members of the party have to carry out to make their decisions and not get tangled up in finding out what they have to achieve and what they have to resolve.

The document adds that the FSLN "is laboring under illusions in the barrios and factories." "They tell you that a factory is solid and that all the workers are Bolsheviks of '17, and then the next day the workers go out on strike."

Carrion estimates that only 150,000 to 170,000 people are definite supporters of the Front, according to the document obtained by LA PRENSA, and this figure is taken from the polls they have conducted but never published.

Internal Insecurity

Carrion goes on to mention the insecurity that prevails among the Sandinist leadership, claiming that there are a large number of people whose political position is variable, and this will grow depending on what the Front or the political parties do.

He proposes a new strategy for the FSLN: Beginning to consider the people's traditional values, such as the fact that in towns like San Rafael, poor people and peasants want to elect prominent citizens who are rich or well educated to be their mayor or deputy. These are "traditional, historic, bourgeois values," says Carrion, "but they exist, and we have not transformed the ideology at that level."

Great Danger in Managua

The FSLN, according to Carrion, estimates that in certain sectors of Managua 46 percent of the population

intends to vote for it, but there is a danger that the next polls will put this figure at 30 percent if it does not do its job right.

The FSLN says that 60 percent of the population is undecided. It believes that if it conducts an adequate campaign with a good political offensive, it could win more votes than it is seeking, but "they are not in our pockets; there is confusion, there are doubts, and we must learn to interpret this situation to find out how the people will alter their political behavior," Carrion agonizes.

The strategy lies in identifying the protagonists of public opinion in each place, he says, and determining who has the most social authority in that sector.

Danger of Over-Confidence

In another section, the document discusses rationalizing the FSLN's political work, making sure that overconfidence does not backfire. It explains that for the FSLN, it is better at this point to speak to a person who is a natural leader of a population "until you convince him," than to waste 72 or 150 hours going from door to door, talking with people who in the end will do whatever their traditional leader tells them to do.

The propaganda that the FSLN will carry out in the cities will not be the same as in the municipalities. Instead of going around gabbing with people, they will follow the strategy of accompanying local leaders to their traditional fiestas and not waste resources putting up posters that no one reads anymore.

The key to the Sandinist campaign strategy is now called the "rationalization" of elements, key individuals, and appropriate and innovative methods that Carrion defines as inseparable key elements: I identify, I convince, I mobilize, and I organize. In essence, this effort will focus on the precincts, barrios, municipalities, and districts in a systematic manner, "because things 'in situ' are changing constantly."

Although the Sandinists have no confidence in the future because it seems uncertain to them after the elections, at present they feel good with a probable support of 40 percent of the people who claim to support the FSLN. They consider this figure fair.

Maybe Only 32

Carrion refers to this figure as the point of departure for the FSLN's development of its 10th anniversary plan. Otherwise he believes the figure could be 32 percent.

Defeat in the Markets

The FSLN believes that of the people who are undecided, it can sway more than half, and a third or more may be attracted to the opposition. Carrion's theoretical calculation is that the Front will see a scenario similar to that of 1984, with different protagonists.

He thinks that quite a few people who voted for the FSLN in 1984 will vote for the opposition, maybe 10 percent, but that they have a historic 40 percent who are "Sandinists to the death" in Managua, although not in the markets of the capital.

According to a study that Carrion reveals in his document, the FSLN conducted a survey in the markets of the Eastern sector that gave Violeta de Chamorro 5 percent more than Daniel, says Carrion.

Sure Defeat in the Barrios

FSLN analysts see this first sample as an indication that there is a middle social sector that has both benefited and suffered from the policies of the revolution. The document states that some things can still be done to try to improve the "balance of power" in the markets, but it is unlikely that anything extraordinary can be done. In addition, some barrios are acknowledged to be "lost causes" for the FSLN, and these are not middle-class or residential districts, but "popular" neighborhoods.

The FSLN Campaign Plan for Region 3 identifies Districts 1 and 4 in the region of San Rafael, Tipitapa, and Villa San Carlos as critical areas of low support. With the exception of Ciudad Sandino, which the FSLN regards as its own bastion, it has less support than the opposition in every district of Managua. The document adds that in Ciudad Sandino, the difference between the FSLN and the opposition is not very large.

The municipalities where the FSLN has the most backing are Ticuantepe and San Francisco el Carnicero, which are the smallest, admits the mayor of Managua. Mateare has a high level of abstention in the surveys that have been conducted.

Violeta the Strongest

In second place, the FSLN estimates that the candidacy of the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO) with Dona Violeta is the strongest. The FSLN document recognizes that Violeta Chamorro is the most popular of the candidates the opposition could have chosen. And in one part of the document it says that if the FSLN had been allowed to pick the candidate, they would have voted for "El Churruco" for president and Virgilio for vice president, "as they were the least attractive and the least likely to maintain a flexible discourse, that is, an opportunistic discourse in political terms."

The FSLN plan figures that Violeta has 10 to 11 percent of the population at this time, and that many values and antivalues can be manipulated in connection with her personality that could attract simple people who have supported the revolution. Indeed, it is much more difficult to attack Violeta politically because of what she represents, Carrion admits.

Without discounting other candidacies, the main enemy in Managua is Violeta, the first part of the FSLN campaign plan for Managua concludes. We will publish the second part tomorrow.

[26 Oct, pp 1, 8]

[Text] Without discounting other candidacies, the FSLN indicates in its Campaign Plan for Region 3 that Violeta Chamorro is its "principal enemy," with Moises Hassan in second place.

The FSLN believes that UNO, with Dona Violeta as a candidate, will pull ahead of it when the campaign gets into full swing.

It considers that Hassan is not likely to become a viable candidate, nor does it think that Hassan can take votes away from UNO. It does, however, regard him as a threat to the FSLN, so Moises Hassan's candidacy represents "a great danger to Sandinism." All of this is contained in the secret document drawn up by Sandinist ideologue Carlos Carrion, of which LA PRENSA has obtained a copy. The document reflects the Sandinists' pessimism about the election.

They believe that Hassan has "many people" behind him in technical and professional circles and among civil servants and government workers, taking away votes from the FSLN.

In his document, Carrion states that he fears that Moises "will take away the votes of those who do not agree" with the current economic policy or the votes of those who feel that they have been harmed by the Front's flexibility toward "the right."

Order to Attack Corruption

To counteract the dangers posed by the candidacies of Chamorro and Hassan, Carrion reveals that the FSLN will develop a campaign against corruption and abuse in the next few days.

"If we did not include that in our speeches, if we tried to ignore the fact that a clean-up is necessary and instruments must be developed to ensure that this is combated, if we don't go into detail on that, they will launch a campaign aimed at revolutionary audiences, and in fact they could damage us, they could undermine support for us," argues the Sandinist activist. He uses this argument to advocate a campaign that will certainly make the heads of many officials roll, as recently happened in Cuba with Ochoa and other military officers.

Semirevolutionary Discourse

This campaign against corruption may not be seen until early December, because according to Carrion the battle must first be waged against Dona Violeta, and secondly against Moises, since the MUR [Movement of Revolutionary Unity] is not what really matters, but rather the semi-revolutionary, apparently Sandinist discourse that Hassan may use.

The battle on the municipal level will be between UNO and the Conservative Party, predicts the Sandinist mayor. He recognizes in his document that the Conservatives have the strongest identification, and therefore the green flag will have the greatest advantage, attracting tremendous backing.

Ignoring the Peasants

The FSLN ignores the peasants, claiming that the people of the countryside don't understand anything about democratic or national conservatives or conservative alliances. Carrion believes that if they see the green flag in the box, they will vote for it, because in his opinion they have been doing that for 50 or 60 years.

Managua is a different case, according to the document. Despite the conservative tradition in Nicaragua, the FSLN believes that Violeta's personality will transcend that tradition, and it fears that her discourse will give her more strength than the Conservative Party has. The FSLN is hopeful that there will be a balance in the municipalities.

Carrion urges the FSLN not to discount the organizational effort that the parties are making with UNO in nearly all the municipalities of Nicaragua.

Whereas the FSLN has one or two professionals in municipalities such as San Rafael, San Carlos, and Tipitapa, UNO has five to seven professionals in each of these municipalities, reveals Carrion. He says that his own party should expand its payroll in the municipalities to deal with this situation.

Set Up to Lose

"If we continue to see everything through the veil of our triumphant illusions, we may set ourselves up to lose," laments the FSLN representative.

"We are not used to having any counterpart in the territories; we are not used to having other activities going on; we have no experience in neutralizing grassroots activities. Here they have just been regional manifestations, and we have managed to confront them with 'overkill.' We don't have experience in the political debate at the grassroots level," confesses the Sandinist leader after acknowledging to his rank and file that UNO is working discreetly and managing to gather strength.

The strategy devised by the FSLN to reverse this situation will be to identify precisely what potential each party has so that it can "neutralize" that potential. Carrion declared that the opposition parties cannot go on like this the whole time.

Nevertheless, he fears that it will not be easy, because the economic aid that the political parties will receive from abroad will improve the development of UNO's political work, and Carrion asserts that this work will soon outpace the FSLN's efforts, moving far ahead of it.

He predicts, for example, that in 2 or 3 weeks the programs of the political parties on Channel 2, which "are horrible right now," will become excellent.

He confesses that right now the members of the FSLN laugh at the clips shown by UNO, because those of Ivan Garcia or Bosco Parrales are better. But he contends that the opposition will improve in quality after the arrival of a fat cat who was the genius behind Bush's campaign and is considered one of the "sacred cows" of U.S. campaign publicity.

Low Newspaper Readership an Advantage

Carrion acknowledges that the FSLN is not yet sure which will be the four main pillars of UNO's propaganda, but it is assumed that the opposition will find strong messages that will be very hard for the Sandinist Front to counter.

This is a battle that is not resolved or definite, says Carrion, explaining that the Sandinists' strength depends on whether or not they are able to set up Electoral Action Committees (CAE) in every precinct. The FSLN believes it is impossible for UNO, with all of its parties, to set up a similar network. In other words, the availability of an army of activists, each of whom will be consistently near 30 people with whom they will work, persuade, and mobilize, gives the FSLN an "important advantage over the enemy, over the right."

Carrion believes that newspaper readership is low in Managua, which is important. From the Sandinist point of view, this is "advantageous," although they fear that in the electoral context the percentage of readers will rise.

Estimated Audience

The FSLN estimates that 2.3 percent of the population sees the television programs and 12 to 15 percent of citizens watch the Sandinist News Broadcast. It also estimates that as the campaign heats up, these programs will generate a larger audience and more interest.

Carrion indicates that the majority of Sandinists do not read newspapers or watch news programs, but get their information only through the grapevine and the political work that they do, which has not been positive for the political work of Sandinist activists.

He says that he is realizing that getting information through the grapevine, after 10 years of proselytism, agitation, and propaganda, has caused many problems. Experience has shown, he explains to the cadres, that "a comrade who is visiting his 30 people and his 30 potential votes finds that when he comes back, people have been reading the newspapers, they have heard the radio or seen the television, and they have been 'caught up,'" so the Sandinist activist has to amend or repair the work he has done, "if he has not already lost them."

The Front's weapon, then, will be to monitor public opinion throughout the population of Managua during these 6 months. That, according to Carrion, will be "our primary weapon in the electoral battle, our fundamental resource. Sure, statements are going to come out in the newspapers and on the radio, but the fact that people have been chewing over the elements of the debate whenever it is necessary is our resource."

Objective Is To Confuse

The FSLN's goal, explains Carrion later on, is for people to be confused when the Sandinist activist comes to see them.

Horror of Debate

"Right now the talk about individual and family survival still predominates, but as the pace of the daily campaign picks up, people will begin to talk about the political and economic future of the country, and they will designate the protagonist who will carry the country forward," says the FSLN Campaign Plan, which expresses horror at the pace of the debate, given how long the campaign will last.

As of the date when the Sandinist document was printed, the Front was counting on a success with at least 50 percent of the vote, based on the network it plans to set up in all the precincts. It expects to obtain the rest through traditional presidential campaign methods, in the media, with mass demonstrations, promotional activities, etc.

The details and ways in which this goal will be accomplished will be explained tomorrow by LA PRENSA in a third installment on the FSLN Campaign Plan for Region 3.

[27 Oct, pp 1, 4]

[Text] The FSLN's campaign in Managua will develop in two dimensions, explains the secret document drawn up by Sandinist ideologue Carlos Carrion. The first dimension is defined as a "horizontal strategy," and it will be given more importance. It consists of the network of Electoral Action Committees (CAE) in every electoral precinct, which will allow direct contact with potential voters.

The second dimension of action for the FSLN is on the vertical plane, with influential sectors such as teachers, merchants' associations, workers as a class, and every single social sector. The success or the key will lie in achieving a good combination of person-to-person work and the influences and actions aimed at the social sectors at the neighborhood level.

For the neighborhoods, the FSLN intends to focus on community, youth, and women's issues as fundamental priorities. The Sandinists' goal is to try to join together as much as possible all these issues.

According to the document, this means that all efforts will be oriented toward work in the territorial precinct, with influential actions impacting on those sectors.

According to the evaluations made by the FSLN itself after the 10th anniversary, young people "are never at home." It recommends that to reach youths, the party's own youth forces should spread their activities out into the neighborhoods, and should engage in other activities targeting the Electoral Action Committees, but with an emphasis on youth.

The FSLN places great emphasis on these levels, because it says that the network is designed not only to win the vote in terms of engaging in direct political work, but it is also a network that should develop the three mass issues indicated above: community, women, and youths.

In the CAEs, the FSLN plans to deploy the most specialized people in grassroots political work. Although they are proud of the youth movement they have in some barrios, they are aware that where there are 3,000 young people, only 150 to 200 belong to the youth movements, a figure that is low but "not insignificant."

They explain that the same is true of the community movement. The very best that the FSLN claims to have obtained here is 300 or 400 sympathizers in neighborhoods of 15,000, 18,000, or 32,000 inhabitants. They say that this community movement is significant and important, but that they have not yet managed to channel it or group it, turning it into an expression of the majority of the population.

The FSLN will deal with this situation, developing a tactic that consists of making the territorial precinct the entire universe and developing at the grassroots level the expressions of its entire electoral movement.

House-to-House Visits

The Sandinist Front plans to make house-to-house visits to housewives, trying to identify their overall interests and problems so that it can promote actions that will incorporate them into the solution of women's problems with a view to forming a women's movement.

Carrion believes that the first stage of work should be aimed at identifying the message that the people want to hear so that actions can be developed to mobilize the population. This is because "the more popular mobilization there is, the more revolutionary votes there will be. Otherwise, the votes may be attracted more to the right," says the ideologue.

All Want to Make Posters

To find a message that will reach the people, the FSLN believes that each person's profile must be sought by means of direct actions through Sandinist cells deployed throughout the country "to encourage people, or no one will want to make visits and everyone will want to stay inside making posters and banners."

The neighborhood committees will receive a new impetus until they have become the command centers of the entire network of the mass movement, which should back and promote the initiatives of the grassroots groups.

The document does not explain how these failed neighborhood committees are to be revived. All it does is urge that they be flexible and listen to what Omar Cabezas, the current chief of the neighborhood committees, has said about the "mechanical division in the barrios." The secret document speaks of reintegrating activists and "winning back those who have become bitter."

Speaking about the same issue, Carrion reveals his anxiety in seeking ways of gathering strength and attracting active people through a reorganization, a municipal and district orientation, the reintegration of enterprises in the territory and administrative centralizations.

He confesses that the most complex issue for the FSLN has been the activation of its members at workplaces and in their respective neighborhoods, a problem that has not yet been solved, in Carrion's own words. The strategy for resolving this situation will be to apply a technique based on "more control and more stringency" at workplaces and in neighborhoods, he states clearly.

Very Few Activists

The document also reveals that the FSLN has only 12,000 to 16,000 activists, which is not enough. Its nominal members are only 5,500 in number. It is for this reason that in the next few days it will set to the task of creating "motivational" conditions for making maximum use of other forces.

The training of the network for the CAEs will be at the center of the FSLN's political strategy, explains the document, which devotes a great deal of space to the way in which the FSLN will increase the political capacity of the "comrades" in the CAEs.

The effort to train the CAEs consists of developing self-initiative, teaching them to read and interpret reality, and helping them learn to improvise correct solutions to political problems of all types.

"It is not true that the political secretary of the neighborhood will be able to solve any problem or conflict or doubt that is presented to the chief of the CAE at any time," says Carrion in discussing his assessment of the capacity of the cadres of his own party.

The political training of these CAEs will be the FSLN's primary effort during this stage, not only with a view to the elections but primarily so that after the elections there will be a party network in the territory of Managua. For the present, this is visualized as the foundation or seed of an unprecedented "mass movement."

The objective or the primary by-product that the FSLN aims to achieve is to retain a series of 4 or 5 of these 16,000 people who will be working in the CAEs, plus the activists, to work after the elections, given that "the

party's little apparatus and the mass organization that we have at this time are not much for after the elections."

Fear After 25 February

What the party fears most after 25 February is the challenge posed by the national reconstruction with a strengthened opposition, which could cause trouble and put up resistance with a great deal of political capacity.

It also fears that after the elections it will not have enough people to keep the neighborhoods covered with its activists.

Predicting its future defeat, Carrion speaks of development and of the leader who he says should take care of everything, "at least mentally," until another era begins. The timing of this era, in the view of the ideologue, will be determined by a factor that is very important for the FSLN: public opinion.

The FSLN will measure public opinion through party evaluations with the Electoral Action Committees, and not through surveys, which the FSLN views as "only an approximation that they would prefer not to believe."

* Cubans Assist Bluefields Residents

90EM0031A Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 9 Sep 89 p 9

[Article by Aleyda Donayre]

[Text] A brigade of over 200 young Bluefields residents has joined in the task of building 1,000 housing units, a construction project undertaken in Bluefields as an expression of the solidarity of the Cuban people for people hit by Hurricane Joan 10 months ago.

"One of our goals is to learn to use the techniques of all the crews brought from Cuba, inasmuch as they are going to stay here," says Carlos Coronado, second in command of the brigade.

Mainly comprised of demobilized members of the SMP [Patriotic Military Service], the brigade also includes young women, who enthusiastically play their role as apprentices, struggling to absorb all the techniques their "Cuban brothers" teach them.

"When there is interest, one learns quickly," says Cuban Julian Chibas, building construction worker, referring to the levels of training achieved by the young people. Although not used to this type of work, the young people have already made a positive impression on the Cuban brigade.

"We have made much more progress on the project than anticipated because we put our workers on different jobs and had the young people replace them at their usual posts. In addition, we have managed to keep them at work until 10 pm and on weekends," he adds.

"We want to turn over the first 50 houses on 8 October, the day of all Cuban martyrs," Chibas says. Steve Hall, one of the young Bluefields residents responsible for a group of workers involved in the assembly, says, "It took me 2 weeks to learn."

Steve, who had previously done only carpentry, began on foundations and excavation, but is now in charge of plans to direct the laying of stone slabs giving form to the construction and has acquired 7 months experience.

Zunilda Legon is a young Cuban woman who works as an accountant in her country. Here she is doing construction work and transmits her knowledge to comrades in the region. Despite the little time she has worked with Nicaraguans, she says she already feels like part of the family.

According to Emilia, she used to work for Pescasa, but now she likes the work of bricklaying and carpentry that she does with such dedication. She also knows how to build columns. "All that tile and finishing work was done by her," say young Cubans pointing to a sink in one of the houses. Laying bricks, plastering, and putting in tile is part of the work done by women, but "they have to be able to take it because they have never been put to the test for these types of activities," says Pedro Torrez, project foreman.

Pedro says there are no major problems in teaching construction techniques since "everything is explained as we go along."

The love and devotion to work derived from the bonds of solidarity will soon bear fruit when the first 50 families in Bluefields take over the houses built by the hands of two brother nations.

* FSLN Official on Citizen Participation

90EM0031B Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 9 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with Omar Cabezas Lacayo, member of the Sandinist Assembly, by Darwin Juarez; date and place not given; first two paragraphs are BARRICADA introduction]

[Text] Student leader, soldier, writer, and poet. A native of Leon by birth, a true cosmopolitan in the social movement he now heads, and author of two famous best sellers: "La Montana Es Algo Mas Que Una Inmensa Estepa Verde" [The Mountain Is More Than a Vast Green Plain] and "Canto de Amor Para Los Hombres" [Song of Love for Men].

Master of the prolific symbiosis between guerrilla and intellectual and a member of the Sandinist Assembly, Omar Cabezas Lacayo, in the following exclusive interview with BARRICADA, takes up the thorny subject of the exercise of democracy in the Communal Movement and its place in the electoral process.

[BARRICADA] Meeting as we are now in the midst of the election process, what is the significance of the

deepening of democracy for the Communal Movement and how do you propose to participate in it?

[Cabezas Lacayo] First of all, one must say that the conception of the Communal Movement is that it is a movement of the community, by the community, and for the community. That is the program which the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] has offered to Nicaraguan society, a program in which the people, based on their own organization, their self-management, will work to solve their immediate problems without discrimination based on politics, religion, sex, or race.

We say that the people should organize, not by wards, not by blocks, but rather, as the they themselves want to organize to solve their problems. That movement embracing citizens who do not belong to any party, citizens who do belong to parties, Sandinists and non-Sandinists, all types of religions, that movement's role in the elections as the Communal Movement will be determined by the role played by the different political parties in the movement developing in the communities. It will be an integral, serious, modern, contemporaneous democracy.

I believe the finest program of the Popular Sandinist Revolution, the finest exemple of what participatory democracy could be in nontotalitarian regimes and the best example of what democracy in Latin America can be in the broadest sense of the term is what our country has in the Communal Movement. After all, if "demos" means "people" and "cratos" means "power," thus "democracy," then what other plan is there in Latin America that offers society absolute and unlimited freedom to participate as an active, conscious subject, without being discriminated against by ideology, political or religious thought?

While participation in elections is an important element of participatory democracy, it is still only one aspect because participatory democracy depends, not only on votes, but on the daily participation of society in the transformation of reality for its welfare, which is the purpose of the Communal Movement.

Candidates: Party Affair

[BARRICADA] You have already mentioned the elections. Does the Communal Movement plan to exercise the right conferred by law to put up candidates picked by the people in the next elections?

[Cabezas Lacayo] We are not a political party.

[BARRICADA] But is there interest in participating, if only in the organizational aspect of proposing candidates?

[Cabezas Lacayo] I repeat: The Nicaraguan community, the men who are working on the drinking water system, putting in electricity, they are Sandinists and non-Sandinists, people from other political parties, without parties, members of the clergy, Pentecostals, Baptists, nuns: That is the community movement, community unity, and responsibility for picking candidates belongs to the political parties.

For example, if I were nominated for deputy, mayor or council member, I would go, not as a candidate for the Communal Movement, but rather, as a candidate for the FSLN, and they would vote for me, not for the Communal Movement, because there may be people in the movement who do not agree with the FSLN. Those who believe I can represent the people's interests will vote for me.

[BARRICADA] And yet you cannot deny the influence of the Communal Movement in the formulation and definition of national policies, and there are certainly organizational mechanisms for that purpose. What means does the Communal Movement then use to influence the content of national policies?

[Cabezas Lacayo] For example, there is the milk issue. We understand from the communities that there was a problem with milk. Interpreting the interests and the feeling of the Nicaraguan community—and not of Sandinists, Christians, Baptists or atheists, but rather, interpreting the wishes of the Nicaraguan people—we waged a battle for milk that fortunately resulted in our being given 500,000 glasses of milk for the children. Likewise, there was another problem that came to a fortunate conclusion: that of electricity rates, which were insane.

What we did was to bring up the issue and fight for problems affecting the community, independently of political or religious banners.

No Permission Needed To Work for Community

[BARRICADA] But we have not yet seen leaders of other political parties heading the Communal Movement. If, as you say, the Communal Movement has profoundly democratic roots and everyone enjoys equal opportunity, why then is it basically Sandinist Front cadres who are at the head of the Communal Movement?

[Cabezas Lacayo] I think you should ask the political parties that question. Why are they not on the different committees? I have found some conservatives and Christian Socialists at the head of some committees, but I have to say that I have indeed found more Sandinists leading committees. I must also say that most of those heading committees do not belong to any political party.

Why are most of those belonging to parties Sandinists and why are other political parties not represented? You should ask other parties that question. Why are they not working for their community? We have said and maintain that in order to work for the community, you do not have to ask anyone's permission.

For Urban Reform

[BARRICADA] Moving from the political to the social realm, one of the social problems of greatest concern is housing. What is the Communal Movement's opinion of

the decree-law banning the eviction of renters for 180 days? What measures and considerations do you have planned for an urban reform of which there has recently been some talk?

[Cabezas Lacayo] We were very happy to receive two things: first of all, the law freezing evictions for 6 months; and second, the fact that people are beginning to talk about urban reform. After all, there has been talk of agrarian reform helping thousands of peasants with fair distribution of land, but there was postponement of discussions of housing and discussion of an urban reform policy—legally speaking—that cannot be like the agrarian reform because the concepts and situations are different.

At the present time, we are putting together a legal team to help us in this task because we do in fact believe that we must have an urban reform law. There is great insecurity in that some have several houses, some have no deed to their home, and some have just a lot but no deed.

We think there are inequalities, a lack of organization, and we must have a policy giving coherence to all the country's urban problems even including urban development plans in the cities.

We shall also have to interpret and understand the feelings of the people and at some time express our opinion, as we did on milk and energy. For the time being, we can say that we are happy that the issue is being discussed.

Awakening in the West

[BARRICADA] There is another item relating to your work in the Communal Movement. Since you are a native of and understand the situation and problems of the people in the country's western region, what is your opinion of the development of the Communal Movement in Region II? How are the people in the western region getting ready for the coming presidential elections?

[Cabezas Lacayo] In the western region, there is a resurgence of the movement related to the integration into communal work of a whole series of sectors that had moved away from the CDS [Sandinist Defense Committees] and that now, with the idea of the Communal Movement, have returned to the work: religious groups, service clubs such as the Lions and Rotary, cultural and religious institutions. For example, I was impressed in Lechecuagos by the level of organization of a rural educational nucleus, which is an organizational model of the Communal Movement in that its main leaders are Asuncion nuns who recognize their promoters and inspiration in the Communal Movement.

In Coyolar (Leon) in the El Rosario district of Chinandega, one could properly say there has been an awakening this weekend in Corinto. We cannot expect spectacular results when this new concept is barely a year old. But the facts and concrete actions have gradually overcome skepticism, fears, and distrust, and there are constantly more sectors participating, particularly in Region II.

What is the election question? I cannot speak. I want people to understand the concept of the Communal Movement from the party standpoint because it is a heterogeneous movement. I cannot speak on behalf of the Communal Movement for which people will vote. I would be disrespectful if I said that the men working for such-and-such a well should vote for a given party because they will vote for whichever party they choose.

But I can say for whom I, Omar Cabezas, a member of the FSLN, will vote as an individual.

Yes, I do believe that we Nicaraguan citizens do have a civic right to participate in the democratic practice of voting. And I can tell you this, not only as a member of the FSLN, but as coordinator of the Communal Movement: We Nicaraguans must participate in elections. We must participate in that democratic celebration. We must register in order to be able to participate in the voting.

Panama

Noriega Discusses U.S. 'Aggression,' Violations

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[Presentation by General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of Panama Defense Forces (FDP), and other FDP officers at the International Conference Against Intervention in Central America and Panama; at the Atlapa Convention Center in Panama City—live]

[Text] [Noriega] Welcome to Panama, distinguished media and personalities from the United States, as well as Panamanians residing in the United States, to whom we are grateful for their efforts to obtain real, truthful, human, and Christian knowledge about the Republic of Panama.

I wish you and I could have developed the topic I will now present so we could ensure adequate communication and allow it to be expanded beyond the limits of a lecture. This way it would have been a truthful and scientific workshop on Panama's reality. Because of sophisticated technological mechanisms, representing a violation of the right to free expression, Panama has no access to the reporters who are here today. It has no access, either, to the gentlemen communicators who are in the United States. They tell the truth here, but then publish something different in the United States and spread a distorted version throughout the world. When we complain about it, they respond by saying that the owners of the news agencies are the ones preventing them from telling the truth.

When the reporters are questioned as to why this occurs, they say that the owners of the news agencies prevent them from telling the truth. We see that this aggression against the people's right to communication is also being applied to Panama in the name of a soulless democracy devoid of Christian feelings. This is why I will try to develop the subject in such a scientific way that confidential details, which should be part of our discussion, will remain undisclosed.

The aggression against Panama started during the administration of U.S. President Reagan, when the base was being established, the fabric was being woven, and the tentacles of Irangate were being extended against the prey which was Nicaragua. At this time Admiral John Poindexter appeared, and he arrogantly and threateningly told me and two other officers that the country had to serve as a spearhead to attack, invade, and sabotage Nicaragua. I want to introduce briefly someone who can speak to you in English for 3 minutes. He is one of the witnesses to this meeting; he was the translator. This officer, a West Point graduate, will tell you in 2 short minutes what Poindexter said. Cortizo. [applause]

[Cortizo] Good afternoon. I still remember the disrespectful way in which Admiral Poindexter threateningly addressed our commander on 12 December 1985. This was a brief meeting. Poindexter had a list of points to be discussed. I remember he started the conference by saying: I have come with specific instructions from President Reagan to present the following requests: 1) That the Panama Defense Forces be used as a spearhead against the Nicaraguan Government. 2) That the Republic of Panama lower its profile in its actions involving the Contadora Group. 3)—And this was the third blow against our sovereignty—that Nicolas Ardito Barletta be sworn in as president immediately because, according to the admiral, Barletta was more manageable and followed the U.S. policy regarding Contadora. At this time, we, the translators, held a short discussion. The commander flatly refused to accept this disrespect. The meeting ended abruptly. I remember that Poindexter said: You will see the consequences of refusing our requests. Since that day, we have been seeing the consequences and suffering. Thanks. [Applause]

[Noriega] That day marked a milestone in plotting aggression against Panama. If you scientists who are familiar with the problem, and you sociologists who handle information, look back, you will see there was no problem at the time. Poindexter's threat included the economy. Everything else followed. During this time there were also direct actions against Panama by the U.S. establishment, which included the President and the Vice President.

In view of the inefficiency of the contras, Panama was pressured into allowing its elite UESAT [Special Anti-terror Service Unit] troops to penetrate Nicaragua and conduct sabotage actions which they themselves caused to get the money being lobbied for at the Congress. This is the beginning of the aggression against Panama. Before God, this is the testimony of what happened. What followed were successive actions that included the violation of Panama's territorial rights and the human rights of Panamanians and Panama. There were official threats. Things went beyond what President Carter agreed to at the OAS; there are specific, visible, tangible violations that cannot be concealed from the world. At this time, the number of U.S. troops should be decreasing, as stipulated by the canal treaties, according to their letter and spirit. To quote, the number of Panamanian troops and the presence of the Panamanian Government should be increasing and the participation of the U.S. Government and the number of U.S. troops should be decreasing so that the transfer of the administration and the canal can be fulfilled in 1999 without the trauma and confusion caused when Torrijos and the negotiators, acting in good faith, made every necessary arrangement so this transfer and the recovery of the territory could be made responsibly, not irrationally or irresponsibly. The U.S. Government was given more than 15 years to organize its orderly pullout from the Panamanian territory. This way, it would be possible to correct the mistakes that they have made in other places where they have had military bases and from where they have had to leave through the back door.

They were thus given the opportunity to fulfill their pledges as human beings, as a proper society, in a man-to-man relationship as equals, and as human beings, thereby gradually fulfilling the agreements they had signed. Today, nevertheless, within the reality I hope they have been able to see, I find that their excessive troops and war materiel surpass even their logistical needs to fight against the Republic of Panama and the FDP. This amount of weapons is not necessary for such a confrontation. There can be no excuse that they are equalizing weapons or military force against an enemy. First of all there is no enemy, and second, our FDP's capabilities are for defense, for development, not for offense, or for an attack.

History shows that since the Republic's creation after its separation from Colombia in 1903, there has not been a single American kidnapped, nor has there been a Lebanonized gringo, nor has a single citizen suffered a political-military offense in our territory. Throughout the years—even now—there are American citizens who live in the capital city and, despite all the situations, they have not been humiliated, persecuted, or threatened.

I believe the excessive number of troops is not against Panama; I am sure of that. I am sure it is not against Panama. It may be against other countries, against which they have established an operational aggression base, which is Panama. They have not told the American people about this or that Panama is a base used as a framework and as a front for aggression against other countries, to justify economic investments in a dirty war because everything that passes through the canal does not go to the U.S. Treasury Department or to treasury investigators.

I believe that the U.S. Army South's operations, because we do not accept the Southern Command, are not provided for in the canal treaties, and therefore, it does not exist. It is a new post-treaty military figure—the Army South is stationed in Panama illegally, by force. It is, I repeat, the justification for geopolitical plans advantageous to the United States, and to its establishment, but is not advantageous to Latin America or Panama. Therefore, we are faced with another great lie that the Americans cannot and do not justify or talk about to the American people.

The military bases—these are the Atlantic and Pacific areas stipulated in the treaties, with a specific number of men, weapons, and functions. However, this strip of land has been used to affect the geopolitical systems of other countries that refuse to subordinate themselves to orders issued by the government in power to its own advantage.

Galeta Island—that island to which our military and civilian negotiators attached little importance—was also called Antenna Island. However, Antenna Island was the island of snooping. Do you know what snooping is? From there all human rights are violated, the right to conversation, broadcasting, and communication. This was the base of air and submarine control which condemned the Argentines, at that time, to lose the Malvinas war. The concept of defense with the existing bases and men, established for the canal installation's defense, has been violated.

Fort Sherman has also become a school for low-intensity war for the United States. Students from other countries have been brought in for this. In other words, what was eliminated with the School of the Americas has, in a secret and surreptitious manner, been established at Fort Sherman, which is the training center used against Latin America. The American people do not know this.

I would like the officers who are handling this to present a brief report on the violative military exercises carried out by the the United States without consent or coordination, as stipulated in the treaties, against the Republic of Panama.

Officers Rodriguez and Pinzon will explain briefly.

[Rodriguez] Good afternoon, representatives of the international and national media. I am Major Rodriguez, cochairman of the Joint Committee. First, I will give you a brief explanation of what the colors in the canal area map represent.

The brown areas represent the defense sites. In each of those defense sites there are military bases, some of which have airports with over 500 feet of landing strips. This means that instead of dismantling bases, the United States is building in order not to leave our country, which violates the Torrijos-Carter treaties. This is being done in a unilateral manner.

The green areas are called military coordination areas, and they are for the use of military operations, just like the brown areas. These military operations that are being carried out in a unilateral manner should be carried out only in the brown and green areas.

The pink area is the canal operations area. It is the area used by the ships in transit. The white areas are under the full jurisdiction of Panamanian sovereignty.

As of 1987 to date, no operation has been coordinated with and, much less, authorized by any official of the Republic of Panama. These operations are also being carried out in areas other than those designated by the treaties, that is, the brown and green areas. The United States uses the white areas that are under the sovereignty of the Republic of Panama.

As a result of these actions, the Panamanian people are being trampled on, and their housing and private vehicles have been destroyed, as was the recent case in Arraijan. In addition, the children who are going to schools or health centers have been disturbed. The operations also include setting up checkpoints, allegedly as a result of a threat. We do not know where this threat is coming from, because we are not threatening the Americans.

This is a phantom war. The Americans are carrying out these operations continuously, 24 hours a day, in a unilateral manner, violating the Torrijos-Carter treaties.

I also want to tell you that these operations are not only being conducted by land, but also the air space is being violated. This endangers private and commercial aviation, inasmuch as neither we nor the Civil Aeronautics Directorate, which is responsible for air navigation, have authorized those flights. Naval operations are also carried out without any approval, endangering the ships that engage in pleasure or commercial fishing. Some of these operations have restricted the daily work of the fishermen.

In addition, there have been violations involving traffic accidents, nonpayment of any type of taxes, and in not recognizing any authority in the traffic or police departments of the Republic of Panama. The Americans have displayed disrespect for our flag; they have stolen flags that were displayed in homes during the month of the fatherland, November. We have captured soldiers while they were carrying out this type of action, and they have not been punished. This also shows there is a lack of discipline and responsibility on the part of those directing the Army South. Briefly, that is all I have to say concerning these violations.

[Noriega] We want to make a professional contrast to this negative side. I want to say that I cannot compare, nor is there any comparison between, the professionalism and gentlemenly behavior of a General Gorman and a General Galvin with the current mentors of the phantom war. We coordinated maneuvers with Gen Gorman and Gen Galvin, even in areas outside the canal area. We carried out operations where we taught the U.S.

soldiers how to do civic action work, in other words, how to have a relationship with the people.

We were praised and congratulated for carrying out those operations in coordination with the people. In other words, the Armed Forces were carrying out a community development program. In this manner, we took Gen Galvin as far as southern Veraguas Province, as far as the Costa Rican border when we carried out these maneuvers. We also went to the Atlantic side when carrying out these maneuvers.

Then, they saw a positive army, not an aggressive army, which was our idea of an army, and Gen Galvin shared that idea. Then, we wanted to change the idea of the bad gringo and of that soldier who came from the reserves—as most of them do—and went out to do community work. He then knew a different community, and the community knew him.

Now, this has been changed with the bad gringos, like the ones in the movies, who are contributing—and gentlemen, it is necessary that you know about this—to a hatred against the United States as a result of those who are violating national sovereignty. When a helicopter blows off the roof of a poor peasant's home from Arraijan, that peasant curses the pilot and hopes the helicopter crashes. So, what is this showing? It is showing that the Panamanian people have very deep feelings. I do not know to what political party that peasant belongs to, where he comes from, where he belongs, or what his name is. He is a peasant that lives there, and the helicopters have blown off his roof so many times.

Then, is this the type of friend you want for Latin America? You have created a phantom war in which the mothers of those soldiers do not know why they are here. The soldiers are killing each other. There have been several shootouts at night, when a nervous guard opens fire at palm trees and kills his companions. There have been several mysterious accidents that have not been reported. The dead have been taken away, and this has not been reported. This is a war of what and against whom? That is the truth, and this is not reported in the United States; the U.S. society does not know this.

When the Americans are brought here, they are told they are coming to war. When they get here, they find out they themselves are the war. Their leaders, captains, majors, and generals have brought them here to create a hatred against a people who have no capacity for hatred. When they go out during their free time and can go to night clubs and dances, those soldiers realize that their superiors have created a psychological state of aggression against a people who do not share those ideas.

And what could we say about the crowded conditions of the troops in inadequate places, preparing for an attack and assault, living in tension, without any days or holidays off, without any male-female human relationships? They are living in crowded conditions because there is not enough room for them, and they must be kept handy. That is the truth that U.S. society does not know about. U.S. society and the leaders are denied the truth. I feel sure that the U.S. President is not aware of this reality. I am sure that the congressmen, who are truly nonaligned [as heard], do not know about this reality.

We frequently see gray propaganda, the manipulation of the media against the Republic of Panama that includes the violation of human rights. We are open to anyone who can prove that there are the violations of human rights in our relationship with the community. We have seen on television—whenever the transmission is allowed—how black men are beaten with clubs on the streets of Chicago and New York. Here in Panama, we do not beat our blacks because we belong to a mixture of races, with the blacks, the Indians, and the Spanish who made this mixture. [applause]

There is no apartheid here. There is no racism here. Here, the Indians and blacks are representatives in parliament. Here, they live well. That is why we reject such violations of human rights. However, they want to say that we violate human rights. We are open to comparisons, point by point, of who is violating whom. On the other hand, they murder priests and bomb people. Yet no one says, let us investigate the human rights situation in those areas that are being bombed. However, they want to accuse Panama. [applause]

We admit that in our society there are infringements, abuse of authority, encroachment. This is normal, from one point of view. A human rights violation is when you have a uncoordinated military exercise and leave behind bombs so that kids die, like the six kids from Arraijan who died, like some farmers have died while working the land. These are human rights violations.

A human rights violation is when one intervenes in the affairs of another nation, when one intervenes in the political decisions of another nation, as they did during the elections. We had to cancel them. They sent here a U.S. technician who is still in jail. We have all the sophisticated materiel he had in his possessionin order to show the world that they were interfering with our television and radio stations to proclaim the political victory of someone who had not secured such a victory or who had not yet won. They used the strategy of denouncing a fraud even before the elections, just as they are doing right now in Nicaragua.

This is a violation of human rights. A violation of human rights is the existence of a sanctuary in our own territory to protect national criminals. A human rights violation is the holding of money that belongs to the Panamanian people. A human rights violation is the prevention of purchases of medicine. This goes against essential norms of the National Red Cross.

A human rights violation is the open persecution of citizens, of businessmen—regardless of whether they are involved in politics—for engaging in commercial activities with the Panamanian state.

What kind of capitalism is this? They sent their transnationals to Panama to chase communism out, at that time. Now, they have cancelled these transnationals' ability to communicate and to invest in Panama. This is a violation of human rights.

Since there are journalists here, it is important to report that in our territory, in Fort Clayton and in other military bases, channel 8 [U.S. military TV channel] and its equipment is being used to intervene, to give orders, to interfere, and to send unsuitable political messages. The treaty states that channel 8 would remain because it broadcasts in English and plays an educational role that benefits the U.S. troops, that it is an educational channel more than anything else. This was a gentlemen's agreement, in those days. This channel has become a political channel. It violates agreements with Panama and military principles of the U.S. Army.

In the bases there are political newspapers that act against Panama, openly meddling in our government and life.

In reviewing the chain of violations, we have saw the aggression when they tried to break Panama economically by cancelling the account of the Banco Nacional, and they carried out other economic activities. They prepared a plan called the Phillipines Plan. Several politicians arrived here for that purpose. One of them was Mr Maisto, who is now at the OAS, Maisto, a very unpleasant remembrance, a person with zero professional and moral values, a liar. He used to lie to his superiors. He issued false reports to his superiors. He provided false information to his superiors in the United States, to his congressmen, to his president. All the measures that were adopted in the United States toward Panama were induced by this gentleman, by his lies based on political interests. With a basis in the Phillipines plan, the idea was to have a manageable president , a president who would grant military bases, permit violations of the treaty, permit the presence of the United States in our territory beyond the year 1999.

Their actions failed. There was the closing of the banks. One may ask, why didn't the people take to the streets when the banks were closed? Because the Panamanian people do not have money in the banks. Who in the hell who has no money in a bank is going to defend that bank? [applause] That was a fight between the rich and the imperialists. That was not a battle of the poor.

Since this action failed, they sought other actions; they sought to infiltrate the Armed Forces—the backbone of national defense, sovereignty, and of recovery plans up to the year 1999.

Looking back, I mean, the FDP has its own history. It was he National Guard in Torrijos' time. It had been the National Police in the time of President Jose Antonio Remon Cantera, whom they also killed when he started the struggle to renew the treaties. It was Remon who coined the great phrase: Nor millions nor alms. We want justice. He died on 2 January in mysterious circumstances in which an American shoots and then vanishes from prison. Later, U.S. citizen Leitstein was found dead in Mexico's streets, also mysteriously. The murders of the Kennedys and that of Luther King have been just as mysterious. This is the kind of mystery that surrounded Remon's death. The army, or the National Police, originated in the struggle against the Spanish crown for freedom. They fought in Ayacucho, Junin, beside Liberator Simon Bolivar. So we are not a new or spurious force. We have Americanist, Latin American roots. So our military concept of honor and defense has antecedents, a father, a mother, and grandparents. This concept is not an orphan nor are we stepchildren of glory. We belong to glory, as Bolivar. [applause] In their minds, they saw that they had to strike the FDP. This was the backbone, and they had to strike at it. Then they made plans, which are not new. The traitor was born with mankind. God scattered 20 seeds. Seven were lost, but 13 gave fruit. Similarly, in every organization, whether civilian or military, there are 12 apostles. There is always a Judas. So this is mankind's mathematical ratio. [laughs] So this is the psychological and economic course they followed. They are always seeking the weakest. In wars and espionage, the weakest are sought. The psychological war treatises say that to recruit a spy or get a contact, as the Yankees at the embassy say, the following things must be known. First, the human condition. If the man is a homosexual, he is a target. If the man is vain, he also is a target. If the man is ambitious, he is a target.

Using this psychological profile, they implement the recruitment system. This is how they influence actions that go directly against the institution. They use large amounts of money for this—because for all of this they have to use your money, the money of U.S. taxpayers. To wage a dirty war they must find a way to use your tax money. This is how they buy consciences, and they fail, because the proportion of 1 against 11 prevails. After they fail they return in a more aggressive and insolent manner. They belong to the 3 October coup before, during, and after the attempt—before, during, and after. Before, recruitment, handling of money, and purchasing of consciences. Advice on plans. [as heard] This is connected—so that you can see the evil strategy—with the contras who were over there, who had lost their jobs in Honduras, jobs aimed against Nicaragua. Those contras had to be placed somewhere, so they brought them here to form part of the evil plan they were carrying out.

During—there is a cassette we will present here if possible, if not I will tell you anyway, where we openly see 22 helicopters flying over the area of the conflict, of the problem. We see the blocking of our highways to prevent the support forces from arriving. We see this and you heard it—you must have heard it in the United States when they said they had won and were congratulating each other. D'Amato, Kerry, and others congratulated each other because they had won. They claimed victory too early. [laughter, applause]

Later, they came to get the fleeing dissidents, to protect and evacuate them through the military base which, presumably, is there for professional U.S. affairs. They evacuated these dissidents to the United States. The presence and involvement is real and specific. There can be no doubt. This is also true of the money they provided. There can be no doubt. I know that they gave almost $3 million for this operation with a promise of more. We found $750 thousand on a single individual. They deposited $1.5 million in a U.S. bank for another, so that he could take over recruitment. They sent liquor the night before so that it would befuddle the troops whom they had confused. Therefore, this is a real, undeniable presence. This is overwhelming proof, and the American people must know it. If they do this with Panama, where they have no problems, what can we expect of good neighborliness, human rights, and the whats-its-name plan?

That violation to all pacts, [changes thought] that violation to all aspects of the canal treaties is of great concern. It has to be of great concern for U.S. society, as it is of concern for Panama and the entire world. It is just simply one thing. If the United States does not respect the signature of its president in X number of years after it concludes a treaty, all of mankind will be in trouble. How can we think or live trusting that tomorrow, a denuclearization treaty signed with Russia will be respected? That is what worries people. If it is good for one thing, it has to be good for another thing.

This violation, this violation...[changes thought] that is why things sometimes [changes thought] the two communicators communicating among themselves [laughter] ...this violation, this violation poses a big question for U.S. society. [sentence as heard] Why the excess of troops and armaments to defend the canal? The canal is defended by the men who live on its banks. The canal cannot be defended from a desk in the United States. The canal is defended by the men living on the banks, in Gamboa, in Pedro Miguel, or on the Atlantic side. He is the man who means well, who will not cause any harm. He is the one protecting the canal, because he sleeps next to that canal. If something happens to that canal, it happens to him. Therefore, it cannot be that the excess of troops and weapons is for the defense of the canal. In the name of that lie, in the name of that lie [repeats himself], they are using aggression against the north, south, east, and west of Latin America. [applause]

These exercises that are being held here, these exercises which are being done on a large-scale are outrageous. What for? To topple the government of the revolution? Is this movement to topple the government of Francisco Rodriguez? Or is to topple another one? It is for the purpose of toppling another country? They must, however, carry out all the necessary exercises because the terrain and the circumstances are good for that, and there is a justification.

There also is a justification for not appointing the administrator of the canal. You know what the administration of the canal is? You would have to ask when they have had an audit done? When have they ever been audited? When? When? [applause] When has the U.S. Treasury Department ever asked them: How did you spend this money? Where did you get this $10 million? How did this money come in? That is why they need another type of administrator. Where did the contra money come from? [applause, laughter] How about Irangate? Was that was a front for diversion?

Thus, there is a violation in accepting the treaties signed by President Carter and Torrijos concerning the increase of the Panamanian administrators and the decrease of the U.S. administrators. [sentence as heard] We also want to bring this up to you. You should receive an explanation about how much is really coming into the canal, and how much is being used for superfluous expenses? How much is being covered up? How much is not entering?

Over the years, Panama has been requesting through its representative to have access to the books, and it has not been possible. However, that is logical. If the U.S. Treasury Department has not been able to gain access to those books, how could the Comptroller's Office of the Republic of Panama have it?

We consider that in its relations, Panama has been an honest partner with the United States. It has absorbed many of the violations, that not being very important, were absorbed. Panama has honestly complied in its capacity as a partner. The noncompliance comes—and that is where we have the moral capacity—from the United States.

Panama has not committed any violations. Panama has never been hostile toward any U.S. citizen or against the U.S.operations—commercial or military. Panama has complied with the rules of human coexistence.

Within the context of the struggle and its commitment, Panama has also been a leader, since 1970, in the struggle against narcotics trafficking, at a time when the United States did not have the support of any nation against narcotics trafficking. It was here in Panama in 1972 when a confederation of countries to analyze the strategy of controlling narcotics trafficking was created.

We have the letters signed by the Drug Enforcement Agency [DEA], where they recognized Panama's struggle, when we took the struggle against narcotics trafficking all the way to INTERPOL, which did not play an active role. The INTERPOL meeting was held in Panama. The international organization for fighting narcotics trafficking was created here on Contadora Island. We were the first ones who said that armies of all countries should become the true inspectors by preventing active narcotics trafficking. [applause]

Now, after so many years, we see how that same U.S. Army is being used to carry out those missions. At one

time, the U.S. Army told us that according to its regulations, the Army could not get involved and besides, it was a police problem. Nonetheless, the police problem has been raised to a national problem. Therefore.... [Noriega speaks to someone close to him] Pass me, bring me.... [changes thought] And then we see how the Republic of Panama.... [changes thought] And it is good that this is known, how the world of narcotics trafficking is divided.

Narcotics trafficking covers the globe. The producing countries pass it on to the consumer countries, and in between, there are the processing countries. Generally, the producing country is a processing country. There are the conditions of the original raw material, which is the coca leaf used by the Incas from the time of the creation of the (?Tihuantizuyo) empire used by them as a stimulant during their work.

Later on, the chemical processing made it possible to produce alkaloids which are the substances used in the international market as a destructive stimulant, in other words, cocaine. However, see what happens: You can only have an increase in something if you have a consumer that will purchase it.

You would not raise chickens if you did not have someone to purchase eggs. It is, therefore, a process of supply and demand. More demand means greater supply. The other countries that are not consumers or producers are being used as the escape or transportation routes toward the place of consumption. This is the case of the Republic of Panama. Geographically, the Republic of Panama serves to shorten distances, however, producers trying to get to the consumers will use any route. Thus, there is no specific route because this route is totally under surveillance. The proof is that our control systems make it easier for us to control this route because we are a small country, we have only one international airport, and so on. There are aerial routes, third countries, and so on. During this continued war against drug trafficking, unlike other countries, we have not received a single cent. This has been a struggle of conviction by the Republic of Panama against this scourge. Going a step further, the DEA testimonials show the Republic of Panama, the Panamanian Government, as having discovered the use of ethylic ether, which arrived in tanks from the United States, to strengthen the original cocaine paste. It was here, through ships using the canal, that Panama sounded the alarm and this production process was discovered.

Each time that there have been efforts to control drugs, official U.S. organizations were informed. They took part in the destruction of the only locally produced material grown in certain areas of Panama—cannabis indica. They were also kept informed of the status of international criminals who were involved in those type of business deals. Panama also helped in these controls—this goes back to 1970, when Panama was the example according to top U.S. officials; this is according to signed letters we still have. I wanted to present this as our contribution and as our compliance with all treaties with the United States.

There is another topic, regarding which the United States treats its society, based on its society. The concept of democracy for North American society is basic and fundamental. It is a historic concept. However, that concept of democracy made in U.S.A. [preceding three words in English] cannot be applied in Panama because blacks here have value. [applause] Indians here have true value. [applause] We have laws here to protect the Indian culture and here we have laws.... [changes thought] We do not need laws here because blacks drafted the law [crowd laughs, applauds], laws that fine-tune things [sentence as heard]. In our country, racism is an exotic term.

They cannot come here to set that type of examples for us. To that we say: what democracy! Oh, because the military exists. [sentence as heard] Yes, but the military here is different to other military men in the north and south. The military here has formed an evolutionary concept since having found our reality in 1969 with Torrijos, when the National Guard, in which he participated in smothering a student guerrilla movement, could no longer exist. As the current historical commanders we make the same reaffirmation, and the officers who follow us in the generational change of command (relevo generacional) will do the same. This Army and these Panamanian weapons must be for the Panamanian people and for the development of the Republic of Panama. [applause]

Our concept of strategy and tactics have changed, they have changed patterns. That is why Poindexter said: You are a bad example for the other Armies in Central America. Yes. We are a bad example. [applause]. We have broken the concept of strategy because our struggle and our war is a war so that the peasant can eat, so that men can have homes, land, and the basic right to survive. These are human rights, the right to shelter, land, and food. These are society's inalienable rights. We believe in that. [applause] This is why our weapons' budget within the national budget is moderate to low. The Nobel peace prize president [laughter] says that Costa Rica has the lowest military budget. It is lower in Panama, however, because they have a growing police force, while our force remains stable. Men here are useful. Our soldiers are useful. They are the peasants' advisers, they help the Public Works Ministry make roads and build schools. Therefore, that investment reverts to the state as a social good.

Our concept is that we must wage war against hunger, poverty, and illiteracy. Our tactic is to maintain the government and the popular forces, and to prevent the fall of the national liberation plan which we have already set on a path of no return, of no return [repeats himself]. [applause]

Gentlemen, members of American society, I must speak to you honestly—I am speaking to you with all the honesty and emotion one is entitled to when one has the truth. Not my truth but a truth of which I am part. I am a member of a team, I am one on the team. As one on the team I participate and share in the responsibility.

Today I must tell you honestly that there is no army in the world capable of repressing the Panamanian people's self-determination and their refusal to have any foreign soldiers in their territory beyond the year 1999. [applause]

This quote, exaggerated presence, unquote is part of the war to sell the product in the United States. It is true that there is an exaggerated military presence in the government, but we are not loafers [laughter]. We work for the government and the people. We even sacrifice our days off. There are no happy hours on Fridays for us. [laughter] Based on this, they say they will maintain the aggression until elections are held, so that democracy can arrive. Well, I will tell you something. In a fight, you have your opponent on the ground, with your foot on his throat. Then you tell the man: Take off your shirt. The man replies: How can I take off my shirt while you are holding me down? Let go of me. This is the same thing we tell the establishment: Let go of us, let go of us. [applause]

There is a relationship between elections and aggression. You cannot hold elections when there is aggression. Elections imply tranquillity and normalcy. We have an abnormal situation here. There is aggression and defense. If this state of aggression does not exist, then there cannot be elections [as heard], or there can be elections if there is no state of aggression. This is the logical conclusion.

Regarding democracy, all right, let us define democracy. Democracy in Panama is not the same as democracy in the United States. To some, democracy includes an extension to the year 1999. [sentence as heard] This cannot be. The treaties have to be complied with, whether the government is red, yellow, or blue. They are signed treaties. They were not signed to be fulfilled when the government is blue, or when it is one of whites, or when the government is by blue-eyed people only. A treaty is a treaty. [applause]

We are also open to discussion, if errors exist, with the United States. However, we will hold discussions under human conditions or respect of man by man. We are open to discuss anything; to discuss strategy, which is what falls within their responsibility; to discuss the planning of development and, if necessary, continental defense. However, they have to discuss it with us, not through other presidents. They must discuss it with us, because we are the Panamanians, we are the ones who live here, we are the ones who will be here in the year 1999 with our children and our families, not the presidents of other countries who may serve as mediators in good faith or because of interests like the foreign debt, etc. [laughter, applause]. However, we are indeed prepared to engage in dialogue, to talk, to discuss, but this must be through worthy messengers or delegates. They must have the capacity ... [changes thought] they must not come here on behalf of presidents, because some have come here on behalf of President Reagan or on behalf of President Bush, on behalf of all the presidents. [as heard] They came here to talk, but their stature, or weight, gave to this discussion the status of a discussion with a sovereign and independent people who have their own culture.

Briefly put, I want to tell you, first, that we are grateful for your presence here and, second, that we regret this contact was not a tete-a-tete with those who care about not taking the news to the newspaper, because we do not care about newspaper reports [sentence as heard]. We are interested in news from people to people, from man to man. [applause]

I do not want to make a show out of my speech or my statements. We want those who come from the U.S. society and who are sitting there to know that there are people here who know the truth and that this truth has been disfigured and distorted, and that the aggression also hinders our right to know the truth about how to live and how to think. This has been denied to us based on the law of the strongest against the weakest, on the law of a man who maintains an empire that people want to liberate themselves from.

We have told you that this excessive number of troops and war materiel violates the treaties and is unnecessary. We have had U.S. commanders here like Gorman and Galvin, with whom we have carried out operations, maneuvers, and joint work for the benefit of our society. We respect and remember them. The soldiers who are being sent here are being brainwashed to fight a fictitious ghost war. They are risking their lives because they are nervous and are being housed in cramped quarters. Tell the mothers of those soldiers that their sons' lives are in jeopardy, that they are morally compromised because they will leave here traumatized the way U.S. soldiers left Vietnam. The mind of each one of them has been Vietnamized.

Tell those mothers that the territory which is currently occupied by military bases is not being complied with according to the regulations or objectives regarding the defense of the Panama Canal. It is fulfilling the U.S. Army South's goals of expanding, dominating, and controlling other countries in the Caribbean, down south, or up north. Tell them that the operations that are being carried out here are not being consulted or coordinated with us; that these operations are provocations; that they are looking for a human error to cause a human tragedy between two peoples.

I want to tell you something else. There is no yardstick to gauge or measure the will of a people. It emerges spontaneously. If you look at the developments at Gorgas Hospital—where all of the Red Cross' international

rights were violated—you will see that there were no specific party leaders there. There were men and women there who were not afraid of anything or anybody. They were prepared to risk having that day be their last. These are the same people who, on 9 January 1964, went out to fight without a single leader when their flag was removed from the Canal Zone. [applause]

On that occasion, U.S. citizens died, but their deaths were hushed up. Panamanians were killed, but U.S. citizens were killed, too. So, let us be careful and avoid deaths on either side. We bury our dead and go on, but the foreigners have to take their dead from here and bury them. Therefore, let us respect the right to life and avoid a confrontation or provocation against a nation that does not have the capacity to attack or offend anyone.

The strikes against the Panama Defense Forces are evident. These strikes represent a direct intervention before, during, and after because the FDP represents the backbone of a peaceful struggle for liberation, which must end with the last foreign soldier leaving in 1999. We do not think our FDP can be classified on a list because the work done by the FDP and the people goes beyond the barracks' walls. This work is done using a strategy which runs counter to social injustices. Since 1969, we have stopped studying Napoleon's classical wars and World War II. Now we are devoted to our war, mankind's war, and against hunger and needs. It is the United States who has violated the treaties. If there exists a neutrality treaty signed by many countries, how can the presence of an exaggerated number of soldiers on Panamanian territory be justified? What are these soldiers supposed to defend? These operations definitely intend to perpetuate U.S. interference in other countries and on other unbending governments that are inconvenient for the United States. In this framework, Panama claims credit for the struggle against drug trafficking. Since 1970 and with the participation of intelligent U.S. scientists, Panama has been playing a brilliant role in this struggle. Many of the things that are being done now were predicted in 1972 and 1973. The great Contadora Group and the INTERPOL Congress both participated in a struggle which was aimed at striking out against drug trafficking. [applause]

We are open and willing to talk, on equal footing, about the situation of Panama and the United States. We are willing to discuss plans and any projects conceived to defend the American continent, but on an equal basis and with dignity, not through third countries who want to erase their foreign debts through Panama. The concept of democracy is inherent in he who invokes it. We have our own concept of democracy. Our democracy cannot be equal to that of El Salvador, Costa Rica, the United States or any other country. The government of each country has its own nature. For this reason, I would like to tell you a story. When the delegate of a South American nation attended the Nonaligned Movement meeting—all of those in attendance wore various garments, such as tunics, turbans—and began to talk about democracy and the need for elections, the African delegates laughed. So this is not Africa's idea of democracy. They have no idea of how to elect such a man. This is the concept that must be respected. Every person must make their own rules, and assessments, and seek their own ways to progress. We cannot impose behavior or living standards on other people because their customs are different from ours.

For this reason, we underline this, elections will occur when a mental, social, community, and economic peace exists, when we have the free use of our resources, and when the aggression ceases. For this reason, I have spoken sincerely today. Of this you can rest assured. Although I said more than I intended to at the beginning, I still have plenty to tell you. This is because the democratic system must be respected [people laugh]. We want you to keep this in mind. We, however, are not asking you to believe it. We only ask you to consider it. I am sure that this is the first time in your life that you have heard about this concept. Thank you. [applause]

Kam Ready To Normalize Ties With U.S., Haiti

PA2911152089 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 29 Nov 89 p 1

[Text] Panama City (DPA) [dateline as published]—Panamanian Foreign Minister Leonardo Kam on 28 November said that his government is willing to normalize diplomatic relations with the United States and Haiti.

Kam pointed out that relations with the United States have "deteriorated" as a result of U.S. "aggressions." Nevertheless, he said that Panama would like to improve its relations with Washington, however prior to that, the Bush administration must "show respect for Panama's independence, sovereignty, independence [as published] and dignity."

The foreign minister pointed out that his government "does not believe that it is desirable to maintain permanent confrontation with the United States, but it does believe that facing permanent U.S. humiliation and impositions on Panama is less desirable."

As for Haiti, Leonardo Kam said that relations with that country "are not doing well," but we are trying to "normalize them."

On 12 November, the Haitian Government declared the Panamanian ambassador "persona non grata" and ordered his expulsion from the country claiming that he expressed sympathy for three leaders accused of promoting an alleged plot to assassinate General Prosper Avril.

Demonstrations on Treaty Issues Planned

PA2911164789 Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish 1159 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] During a news conference in Havana, Cuba, Darinel Espino, secretary general of the Democratic Revolutionary Party [PRD], said that the United States intends to perpetuate its control and occupation of the canal and prevent the appointment of a Panamanian administrator.

Espino said in Havana that according to the Torrijos-Carter treaties, effective 1 January 1990, the canal administrator must be a Panamanian, who should be designated by the Panamanian National Assembly, and not by the United States as that country has decided.

Espino anticipated that on 2 January the government and progressive political parties will convene a mass demonstration to publicly repudiate this new U.S. violation of the canal treaties. He added that the demonstration will also condemn the daily violations of our national airspace and territory by U.S. soldiers stationed along the banks of the interoceanic waterway.

Canal Employees Back Manfredo for Administrator

PA3011055789 San Jose Radio Impacto in Spanish 0332 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The Association of Panama Canal Employees [ASODEC] has issued a communique supporting the appointment of Fernando Manfredo as acting administrator of the Panama Canal Commission [PCC] while a solution is being sought to the political differences between the Republic of Panama and the United States.

ASODEC pointed out that [words indistinct] on the U.S. Government decision, we are confronted with a true situation, that is, President Bush will not appoint the candidate proposed by the current Panamanian administration. Therefore on 1 January 1990, we might be confronted with an abnormal situation, which would be very harmful for the operation of the Panama Canal.

In their communique, the PCC employees say that if Manfredo does not accept the post, the United States might be forced to appoint an acting U.S. administrator, something which is harmful to Panamanian interests. ASODEC added that Manfredo is fully qualified for the post, as he has shown. He has also shown a great capacity for work and a tremendous concern for Panamanian interests.

The Panama Canal employees also demand that the U.S. Government reestablish the powers that the PCC Board of Directors took away from the administrator and that were delegated to the Board. The workers also advised that the temporary appointment of Manfredo does not exempt the United States from complying with the letter and spirit of the treaties, that is, as far as appointing a permanent Panamanian administrator.

Government To Seek Extradition of Guerrilla Cell

PA2911213289 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2047 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Panama City, 29 Nov (ACAN - EFE)—A Panamanian State Attorney's Office official reported today that his office will ask Costa Rica to extradite the people involved in organizing a guerrilla cell which intends to contest the Panamanian regime.

The official, who asked not to be identified, said that the extradition will be requested because a guerrilla force "would have an effect on this country violates the security of the state."

On 25 November, the Costa Rican police reported that it had arrested a person who allegedly is the ideologist of the so-called Panamanian Democratic Front, which supposedly has plans to begin armed actions against the Panamanian regime.

According to a spokesman for the Judicial Investigation Agency [OIJ] of Costa Rica, a Panamanian who has been identified only by his last name, Gonzalez, has been captured in San Jose in possession of "important documents" listing the objectives and the ideology of the rebel group.

The OIJ also reported last week that the police have captured two Panamanians and a Cuban and that several AK-47 rifles, ammunition, and grenades were seized from them.

The Costa Rican authorities have told the media that the two Panamanians and the Cuban had plans to transport heavy weapons to Panama.

The Costa Rican police, meanwhile, have said that its agents are looking for another 15 persons allegedly connected with the Panamanian Democratic Front.

Opposition Warns Against Further U.S. Sanctions

PA2911235689 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2310 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Panama City, 29 Nov (ACAN - EFE)—The Panamanian opposition today came out against the United States adopting sanctions "of a general nature" against Panama.

The opposition issued its warning after reports from the United States hinted that the U.S. Government may adopt new sanctions against Panama, one of which would be to ban Panamanian flagships from docking at U.S. ports.

In a communique signed by its top leaders, Guillermo Endara, Ricardo Arias Calderon, and Guillermo Ford, the opposition said that "the sanctions would certainly increase unemployment and poverty, which are already reaching dramatic levels."

The opposition leaders asserted that "the U.S. sanctions have worsened the crisis, although they did not cause it."

The measure against the vessels may affect a very important source of income for the government—estimated at $75 million annually—which results from the registration of vessels under the Panamanian flag, a business in which Panama ranks second to Liberia with 12,000 ships.

In addition, the opposition insisted on a negotiated solution to the Panamanian crisis, stating "its readiness to reach agreement with the Panama Defense Forces as soon as possible to begin an immediate democratization of our country."

The communique ends by stating that "without democracy, the conflict with the United States will continue to grow."

The U.S. Administration adopted the first sanctions against the Panamanian regime in 1988 with the intention of toppling General Manuel Antonio Noriega, the country's "strongman."

Argentina

FMLN Representatives Satisfied With Talks

PY2911180189 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1630 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 29 Nov (NA)—The representatives of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] of El Salvador have expressed their satisfaction with the meetings that they held with Argentina President Carlos Menem.

One of these meetings was held at the office of the chief executive at Government House. This meeting lasted a little over 2 hours.

Miguel Saenz Varela, one of the FMLN representatives, said that during one of the meetings they asked Menem and the United Nations to mediate and to achieve a "cease fire" in El Salvador.

Saenz Varela told Radio Continental that the meeting with Menem forms part of a "diplomatic offensive" that the FMLN launched last week in various Latin American governments seeking to brief them on the current situation in El Salvador.

"Fortunately we have found the various Latin American governments, and especially the president of Argentina, very receptive. When we asked to meet him he agreed promptly and met with us in his office," the FMLN representative said.

He added that President Menem "was specifically asked to mediate and to achieve a cease fire with the help of the United Nations."

However, Argentine Foreign Ministry sources explained that the term "mediation" should not be used to describe Menem's probable role in achieving a cease fire in El Salvador, because a mediation could not take place without a formal request from Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani, and other steps.

Yesterday, the Argentine president and his Paraguayan counterpart Andres Rodriguez called for a "cessation of hostilities" in El Salvador to pave the way for peaceful negotiations between the parties involved in the military conflict.

Menem Admits 'Restructuring' Planned for SIDE

PY2911172889 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 29 Nov 89 p 11

[Text] (NA-DYN)—President Carlos Menem admitted yesterday that there will be a "restructuring and rationalization" of the State Intelligence Secretariat (SIDE), although he stressed that "this does not mean there will be redundancies."

Shortly after returning from Paraguay, the head of state specified that "SIDE will be restructured to make it more efficient and useful," pointing out that "lately it has been very dilapidated."

Earlier, presidential spokesman Humberto Toledo had denied alleged plans to eliminate the SIDE and replace it with a new entity under the jurisdiction of the Interior Ministry.

In statements he made in Paraguay while accompanying President Carlos Menem, Toledo attributed this information—published by PAGINA 12—to groups interested in drawing attention away from certain reports submitted to the President about officials negotiating the purchase of shares with future TV owners.

At the same time, Toledo said that Intelligence Chief Juan Bautista Yofre has the full support of the President, and denied reports that he plans to resign his post.

British Trade Delegation Holding Talks

Meets With Foreign Minister

PY2911200089 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1733 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 29 Nov (TELAM)—Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo today met with David Montgomery, the head of the British trade delegation visiting Argentina. Cavallo told Montgomery that the Argentine Government intends to encourage foreign investments, without any exception and that it wishes to resume diplomatic relations between the two countries.

During this morning's short meeting at the Foreign Ministry, Cavallo greeted the members of the British delegation who briefed him on their activities during their visit here and the progress made toward trade and investments between the two nations.

Minister Cavallo pointed out to the British visitors the importance of the new law on foreign investments ordered by the government and referred to the maximum guarantees granted to British businessmen and investors who wish to bring their capital into Argentina.

In the diplomatic field, the Argentine foreign minister reiterated the importance of resuming relations with the United Kingdom and voiced his hopes that these relations will become stronger and closer as a result of the meeting of representatives of the two countries next February in Madrid, Spain.

British Delegate on Relations

PY3011025889 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 29 Nov 89 p 4

[Text] (NA-DYN)—Lord Montgomery, leader of the Latin American Trade Advisory Group (LATAG)-London Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI)

trade mission said yesterday he thought the government's strategy of opening the economy was "optimum" and forecast that the economic situation would improve "if it was deepened."

Montgomery and the trade mission continued their scheduled appointments, which yesterday included talks with Agriculture Secretary Felipe Sola and Communications Secretary Raul Otero, as well as attending a lunch organized by the British Chamber of Commerce.

Following the talks with Sola it was disclosed that Montgomery had commented on the possibility of full diplomatic relations between Britain and Argentina being re-established by February 1990.

Sola, accompanied by Undersecretary Rafael Delpech, told the press that they had exchanged views with the visiting delegation on the current situation of Argentine agriculture, farming technology and on future trading prospects. He said the visitors had enquired about such topics as export duties, agricultural policies, taxation ad exchange rates. Both sides agreed that air cargo between both countries—via Aerolineas Argentinas and British Airways—should be rapidly restored, as this would help the export of local produce, especially fruit and vegetables.

In other related news Sir William Harding, mission deputy chief, said British business was willing to invest in Argentina and indicated that Lloyds Bank was interested in participating in the privatization of the national telephone company (ENTEL). Harding's comments were announced to the press following a meeting with Communications Secretary Raul Otero.

The British trade mission will be dividing into three separate groups and visiting different areas of the country: One under Lord Montgomery will visit Cordoba, a second under Harding will travel to Cordoba and the third, under LATAG's Michael Valdez Scott will visit Mendoza.

Government Decides Against Antinarcotics Force

PY2911171989 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 29 Nov 89 p 11

[Text] (NA-DYN)—The government has reversed a proposal to set up a special anti-drug force which it had originally been intended to put under the command of Colonel Mohamed Ali Seineldin, Presidential Legal and Technical Secretary Raul Granillo Ocampo said yesterday.

Army Chief-of-Staff Isidro Caceres had already come out against the idea of setting up such a force saying the job would be better entrusted to security forces and the police.

Granillo Ocampo said President Carlos Menem, who had previously shown close ties to Seineldin, had apparently changed his mind about the former rebel leader because of his association with officers and supporters of the so-called smeared-faces who took part in the uprisings of Easter Week, Monte Caseros and Villa Martelli.

The presidential secretary referred to the pictures of Seineldin and rebel leader cashiered Lieutenant Colonel Aldo Rico leading other military personnel in jogging exercises in the Palermo Park.

Most of the other personnel in the photographs had been accused of taking part in the uprisings but were later absolved by the presidential pardon.

Seineldin was also reported to have taken part in unarmed military execises carried out in private property in Lujan last week.

Granillo Ocampo said Seineldin's activities had aroused suspicion in government circles and forced Menem to change his opinion of the former rebel leader.

Granillo Ocampo also mentioned an alleged letter sent by Seineldin to Menem in which the military officer reportedly questioned the scope of the pardons issued by the President. According to the report Seineldin also referred to a paramilitary group allegedly working under his orders. Seineldin has denied having referred to such a group.

In his letter Seineldin was alleged to have said: "It is a psychological pressure campaign aimed at recreating as in other times, an atmosphere of tension and conflicts of an economic, political and social type, whose final objective would be the president himself."

He added that he was always ready to defend the juridical and constitutional system.

Seineldin is currently in a situation of availability in the Army as the Promotions Council has recommended his retirement. But the final decision is up to Defence Minister Italo Luder.

Luder on Possibility of Unit

PY2911130389 Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Defense Minister Italo Luder has said that there is currently no possibility of creating a special unit to fight drug trafficking and that his ministry is not studying the problem. Luder thus dismissed rumors circulating in recent weeks that a special command unit to be commanded by Colonel Moamed Ali Seineldin would be created.

The minister said that the drug-trafficking problem should be tackled in its entirety, not only through repression. It should be fought with a program that includes education, family participation, and the resources necessary for prevention.

Luder added that the creation of a special unit to fight drug trafficking requires a political decision that has not yet been made. He also pointed out that there are now other units in charge of that task, such as the Federal Police, the National Gendarmerie, the Naval Prefecture in the maritime coastal zone, and other institutions.

Army Chief of Staff Grants Bonus to Personnel

PY2911225089 Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 28 Nov 89 p 9

[Excerpt] Army Chief of Staff General Isidro Caceres yesterday announced to Army personnel: "Using the power bestowed upon me, I have authorized the payment of a one-time special bonus, which is not a salary increase." The bonus is to improve the economic situation of Army personnel. It ranges from 12,000 to 20,000 australs.

Gen Caceres has thus met the military personnel salary demands, which were discussed on 23 November by the highest-ranking military chiefs and Defense Minister Italo Luder.

In a message to the Army, excerpts of which were made public, Gen Caceres stated: "We must all abide by the law. The worse the situation, the more important it is to abide the law." Gen Caceres reiterated that "the Pardon Law has solved the problem that was troubling the military men who were being tried [for human rights violations]." [passage omitted]

Air Force Exhibits Technological Developments

PY2911235889 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1705 GMT 27 Nov 89

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 Nov—Brigadier Jose Julia, the chief of staff of the Air Force, today asserted that "politically speaking, it would make no sense to carry out further tests of the "Condor II" because this test "would be misinterpreted" by other countries—which he did not identify—that are "interested in destabilizing our relationship with the United States."

Julia said that he thought that by next January the decision will have been made as to which U.S. enterprise will go into partnership with the Military Aircraft Factory, and which will exhibit the advanced training "Pampa" aircraft in the U.S. Air Force bid. This bid will be for the purchase of more than 400 training aircraft.

Julia made this statement to the media after opening the Air Force technical developments exhibition at the Air Force club at 600 Libertador Street in Vicente Lopez, Buenos Aires. The exhibition is not open to the general public.

Among the high technology projects on display are bombs intended for destroying runways [bombas rompepistas], 250 kg shrapnel bombs [bombas de submuniciones], electronic intelligence systems, radar systems for helicopter gunships, weapons systems for Mirage aircraft, navigation and firing systems, infrared sight systems, and an "Alacran" rocket with a shrapnel [submuniciones] payload.

When he was asked how the Air Force manages to develop these projects on such a tight budget, Julia answered: "With sacrifice and with our minds set on the future."

Julia added that the Air Force plans to sell these technological developments to finance its operations.

When asked whether there is any chance of exporting these developments, the chief of staff said that "there is a great possibility of sales next year although some of these developments have not been completed yet " and added that "they intended to cover the world market, especially the Latin American market."

Regarding negotiations for the sale of the advanced training aircraft "Pampa" to the U.S. Air Force, Julia answered that "at this moment we are holding talks with representatives of Dornier (FRG) Inc and with McDonnell Douglas." He added that the U.S. Boeing enterprise had also voiced interest.

Julia disclosed that next month Air Force experts will travel to the United States to receive a "definite offer" from McDonnell Douglas regarding a possible partnership with the Military Aircraft Factory to build Pampa aircraft.

He said he thought that "by late December or early January we will have decided who will be our partner" with whom to submit our offer to the U.S. Air Force for the supply of more than 400 training aircraft.

The prospects that will open for the Military Aircraft Factory will be exceptional if we manage to find a partner by then. We will then be able to build the Pampa in the United States, for example, and some of its components in another part of the world. We will be able to seriously compete with the best training aircraft."

Brig Julia then said that the Military Aircraft Factory has already delivered "Pampa unit No 10, plus 3 prototypes, and has everything financed and paid up to unit No 18."

He added that "our problems begin after Pampa unit No 18. Therefore, I have already talked with national government authorities and have received some promises. We aspire to build 100 aircraft of this type."

Julia said that if they can find a U.S. partner "we will have secure finance for those 100 aircraft."

He also confirmed that Taiwan, some European countries, and some socialist European countries he refused to identify, are interested in the "Pampa."

When asked about the degree of development of the "Condor II", he ironically said that "it is as secret as it can be, considering that it is being exhibited here. A lot of fuss was made about the "Condor II" and the subject was handled in a purely political way" at an international level.

"It is nothing more than a vehicle capable of launching a satellite into space. Whoever says that it can be used for other purposes if aimed lower, is right, but our objective is peaceful."

Julia said that "technically speaking the project is almost complete," and asserted that "it cannot be postponed because it is a technological development to which Argentina has a right.

He added that "one can talk about its (hypothetical) export to 'hot' zones of the world, but that is not up to the Air Force to decide, it will eventually be decided by the executive branch."

After asserting that the "Condor II" "is ready to be tested, he said that a political decision is necessary for that, adding that "we are so certain it works properly there is no need to test it because we have full confidence in our engineers."

"Moreover, a test of this nature is very costly. We have already tested the components and they work well."

Julia also said that it must also be taken into account that "it would make no sense to test it now because it could be misinterpreted by countries interested in destabilizing our relationship with the United States."

When asked whether the article published last week by the British daily "Financial Times"—which described the "Condor" as an example of the proliferation of missiles—was political, Julia answered that "I have received information from our military mission in the United States stating that the article, that also caused repercussions in the U.S. media, was a campaign designed to jeopardize the improvement of relations" between Buenos Aires and Washington.

Talks on Space Research With Brazil Begin

PY2911193889 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1625 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 29 Nov (NA)—It was officially disclosed that Argentina and Brazil have established a "political framework" in which to select cooperation projects for the peaceful use of outer space.

According to a communique issued by the Argentine Foreign Ministry, this decision was made during the first meeting of the Argentine-Brazilian work group that was created through the joint declaration signed by Argentine President Carlos Menem and Brazilian President Jose Sarney last 23 August.

The communique states that "during the meeting there was a good exchange of information on the respective space research programs and the individual degree of development that has been achieved."

The meeting was presided over by deputy Foreign Minister Mario Campora and Minister Valle [not further identified] of the Brazilian Foreign Ministry.

Police Raid Uncovers Cache of Weapons, Uniforms

PY2911180189 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1200 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] La Plata, 29 Nov (NA)—The police reported here today that a cache of weapons, ammunition, and military uniforms was confiscated yesterday by personnel of the 3d Police Precinct of San Isidro in the town of Boulogne.

Upon raiding a house at the intersection of 11 September and Pasteur Streets on court orders, police officers found more than 20,000 bullets of various calibers, dozens of grenades, long-barreled weapons of various types—all of which were described as military weapons—military commando uniforms, shotguns, 1 and ½ kg of black powder, telescopic sights, and other related items.

Jose Minino, 42, and Jose Moscatelo, 52, were arrested. It was not known whether they belong to a criminal organization or whether they are linked to some political group.

The police pointed out that the weapons and other items found in the house had been smuggled into the country from nine different nations. The police did not name the countries in which this material originated.

Israel's President Herzog To Visit 5 December

PY2911203089 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1817 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 29 Nov (NA) — Israeli President Hayim Herzog will make an official visit on 5 December in response to an invitation by Argentine President Carlos Menem.

Herzog's agenda includes meetings with the president and Argentine officials to discuss matters of bilateral interest and he is also scheduled to meet with representatives of the Jewish community in Argentina. Argentine Foreign Ministry observers believe that the visit by the Israeli chief of state will reinforce Argentine-Israeli political links.

Brazil

Police Uncover 'New' Medellin Cartel Drug Route

PY2911142289 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0915 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] The Federal Police in Sao Paulo have discovered a new route used by the Medellin Cartel, the most powerful drug-trafficking mafia in the world. The police also arrested 10 people and seized 59 kg of pure cocaine.

The police have discovered that one of the Medellin Cartel leaders has been organizing a new route through Brazil to distribute the drug in the different markets in the United States and Europe. Colombian Dr Guillermo Ignacio Zambrano had a cocaine laboratory in Manaus, from where he conducted all the transportation, sales,

and export operations. The route used by this cartel also included Guajaramirim in Rondonia and Caraguatatuba in Sao Paulo.

The head of the group was arrested in Taguatinga, Amazonas, when the Sao Paulo Federal Police arrested two of the traffickers: Brazilian Jorge Augusto Zerquinho, a police officer from the Manaus Public Security Secretariat, and Colombian Pastor Delgado. Roberto Precioso, Jr, the Sao Paulo Federal Police Narcotics Department chief, believes that the new route has been organized to escape the repression the Medellin Cartel has been enduring in Colombia.

[Begin Precioso recording] What we are realizing is that, as a result of strong repression efforts against Colombian traffickers, they are changing their modus operandi, trying to create new routes and methods of trafficking cocaine to the United States and Europe. [end recording]

According to the police chief, there are more people involved in this route who will be arrested within the next few days.

Foreign Minister Comments on Democracy, Nicaragua

PY2911161989 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0915 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Brazilian Foreign Minister Abreu Sodre has stated that the American continent is moving toward total democracy. I cannot deny that Central America still has some political instability, but the American peoples are unquestionably living through a special moment of seeking social peace, he said.

The foreign minister added that Brazil believes all American nations will be democratic within a very short time period. He said that what makes him so certain about this is the fact that countries affected by political differences have already set dates for elections and promised to hold them freely.

Referring to the Nicaraguan situation, Sodre stated:

[Begin Sodre recording] I have been following the situation in Nicaragua. Through the Group of Eight, I have contacted all the foreign ministers to seek a peaceful, negotiated solution to this conflict between the remaining contras and the Nicaraguan Government. [end recording]

The foreign minister added that Brazil intends to contribute as much as possible to finding a solution in Nicaragua, because he feels that the Nicaraguan conflict is only a marginal [marginal] issue, as he put it.

Da Silva Meets With EEC Envoys, Campaigns

PY2911131889 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 2200 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] PT [Workers Party] presidential candidate Luis Inacio da Silva met this morning in Brasilia with ambassadors from EEC countries and confirmed that, if elected, he will not pay the country's foreign debt.

He later traveled to Sao Paulo, where he officially began his campaign for the runoff. He was in Bauru in the interior of Sao Paulo State to participate in a car parade to the local city hall, where he received support from the city mayor, a member of the PSDB [Brazilian Social Democracy Party]. He was also supported by politicians from the PDT [Democratic Worker's Party] and the PTB [Brazilian Labor Party]. He then went for a stroll downtown and held a rally in front of the railroad station. From this point on, Lula will aim his campaign at regions where he received little support in the first round.

By this weekend, he will have visited the interior of Minas Gerais State and Florianopolis, where he intends to see if the alliance with the PDT is producing any results.

Candidates Use Free TV Time for Campaigning

PY3011001189

[Editorial Report] Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese at 2230 on 28 November begins airing a free electoral campaign program for the presidential runoff election on 17 December.

The program begins with a 3-minute statement by the National Reconstruction Party candidate, Fernando Collor de Mello, who asks the people to vote for him and to support his government platform, which is intended to benefit Brazil's poor masses. The rest of the 10-minute slot consists of shots of Collor de Mello's first-round campaign in different regions of the country, while a voice off camera speaks of the candidate's electoral accomplishments and his accomplishments on behalf of the poor when he was Governor of Alagoas State.

There follows a 3-minute statement by Luis Inacio da Silva (Lula), the presidential candidate of the Peoples' Front, which is made up of the Workers Party, the Brazilian Socialist Party, and the Communist Party of Brazil. He emphasizes the difference between his candidacy as representative of popular interests and that of his opponent as representative of the country's upper classes. Lula's allotted 10 minutes are then completed with shots showing the support he has received after the first round balloting and shots pointedly showing big business representatives who voice their support for his opponent, Fernando Collor de Mello.

This 20-minute program, divided into 10-minute spots for each presidential candidate, will be broadcast every

day, both in the morning and at night, over radio and television network, until 15 December.

Labor Groups Announce Support for Candidates

PY3011013689 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2100 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The CGT [General Federation of Workers] has made official its support for Fernando Collor de Mello in the runoff presidential election. A meeting of the CGT national excecutive board held today in Brasilia lasted 3 hours. The decison was not unanimous since the representatives from Pernambuco opted for the candidacy of Luis Inacio da Silva. [passage omitted]

In Sao Paulo, the candidate of the Peoples' Front of Brazil, Luis Inacio da Silva, received the support of the CUT [United Federation of Workers]. [passage omitted]

Cuban Meningitis Vaccines Deemed 'Ineffective'

PY2911232089 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 26 Nov 89 p 3

[From the "Notes and Information" page]

[Excerpt] Consistent with the characteristically Latin American habit of making huge promises, the Cuban Government promised the Brazilian Health Ministry that it would deliver 10 million doses of B-meningococic type meningitis vaccines per month. As soon as the contract for this supply was signed in July 1989, the Brazilian Government increased the order to 15 million vaccines. Since then Brasilia has been waiting for the Cuban Government to comply with the contract, which included the transfer of scientific and technical know-how, especially regarding the packaging of the vaccine, which was to have been delivered in bulk. The Brazilian Government has now suspended the contract for the simple reason that the Cuban Government has delivered only 1.9 million doses, and not the agreed 8 million [as published], and has failed to transfer scientific know-how as established by the contract. To make matters worse, 90,000 vaccines had to be returned because they were found to be contaminated by various bacteria.

The contaminated vaccines did not immunize the Brazilian children against meningitis. According to reports, however, this did not prevent the Cubans from acquiring more than $38 million worth of Brazilian products through the counter-trade [preceding words in English] system foreseen in the contract that established that each dollar paid for the vaccines would be exchanged for Brazilian products [passage omitted]

Chile

Pinochet Views Peace Efforts, Beagle Treaty

PY3011143689 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 0930 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The president of the Republic has said that, although the military must—by their training—be prepared for war, they must also seek to avoid war, using all the means available for this purpose. He said this in a speech during a ceremony marking the 5th anniversary of the mediation for peace and friendship between Chile and Argentina.

This historic event occurred after the good offices of His Holiness Pope John Paul II mediated in the southern dispute between the two nations.

Speaking in O'Higgins Hall in La Moneda Palace before the country's highest-ranking officials, diplomatic representatives of Argentina and Uruguay, and those who participated in the all-important event, President Pinochet noted:

[Begin Pinochet recording] Gentlemen, as the holy father pointed out at the beginning, the gift of peace requires daily effort both to preserve it against the obstacles that could oppose it and to encourage everything that could strengthen it.

In this regard, although we, the military, must—by our training—be prepared for war, we must also seek to avoid war, using all the means at our disposal for this purpose.

One of our important missions is to achieve peace through justice. I am proud of having contributed to ensuring peace for my country.

Let's pray then that both the governors and the governed, Chileans and Argentines alike, strive to increase and strengthen the peace and friendship between the two nations that the papal mediation and the Beagle Channel treaty contributed to promoting and maintaining. [end recording]

The president reiterated his firm commitment to continue serving the cause of justice, peace, and law with the firm purpose of facilitating a promising era of solid cooperation and strong friendship between the brotherly Chilean and Argentine nations.

For his part, Santiago Benadava, the former Chilean special envoy to the Holy See at that time [October 1982], has noted that this event was one of the most notable achievements of the Chilean and Argentine diplomacies in this century. He also reiteratied his gratitude to the holy father and remembered Cardinal Antonio Samore, who represented his holiness in the mediation process.

Pinochet Urges Armed Forces To Maintain Unity

PY2911175089 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The president of the Republic has made another appeal to the Armed Forces to maintain their unity despite the attempts by some opposition sectors to divide them and dismantle the institution.

The president, along with Lieutenant General Jorge Lucar, Army deputy commander in chief, held a 30-minute meeting with 3,000 officers and noncommissioned officers at the Santiago barracks. The president once again spoke about a campaign against him to keep him isolated from the civilians.

President Pinochet will return to the Diego Portales building to meet with Army forces on 29 November. There he will speak to representatives from the rest of the national defense sector.

Junta Approves 1990 Budget; Merino Comments

PY2911143689 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Excerpts] During a regular session, the government junta has approved the nation's budget for 1990, which totals 1,848,000,000 pesos. The government junta also approved a bill on a 12-percent adjustment for the wages and salaries of public servants. This information was supplied by Admiral Jose Toribio Merino Castro at the end of the regular government junta session. [passage omitted]

Regarding an extension of the regular government junta sessions, Admiral Merino noted the possibility that a period of special sessions will be implemented.

The admiral emphasized that, as long as the government governs, it is responsible for the lives of the citizens. Otherwise, it would be a bad government and would jeopardize the well-being of the entire nation. This Armed Forces government will continue issuing laws until the last day of its mandate, Admiral Merino added.

Caceres Comments on Destabilization Efforts

PY2711144889 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 0930 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Interior Minister Carlos Caceres and Colonel Cristian Labbe, the minister secretary general of government, have visited the studios of Radio Mineria to make an on-site confirmation of the damage caused by a terrorist attack against this radio station in the early morning hours of 26 November. The station is located on Providencia Avenue.

Speaking to the reporters present during his visit, Minister Caceres described such action as despicable and isolated. He added that such actions are an obstacle to a peaceful transition to democracy.

Through these attacks, he said, the Communists are trying to destabilize the final period of this government that has restructured the institutional system of this country. However, for the tranquillity of all Chileans, Caceres added, this will never happen.

[Begin Caceres recording] The government has taken and will take all necessary measures, so these actions will definitely become isolated events—although they are part of a strategy designed by the Communist Party, a strategy designed by movements promoting violence, a strategy designed by international communism as mentioned a few days ago to Radio Moscow by [words indistinct] an isolated action that will not affect this process in which all of us Chileans are engaged. (?Let us hope) that the transition to full democracy will actually involve an orderly and peaceful atmosphere for the Chilean citizenry. [end recording]

The Cabinet chairman also pointed out that the terrorists' recent focus on the media demonstrates their intention to prevent the exercise of the freedom of the press, precisely now that the government has expressed its aim to liberalize all expressions of the citizenry's life.

Minister Caceres pointed out that all political sectors have a moral obligation to condemn violence because, to the extent that some leaders remain confused by accepting the Communists' support, terrorism will spread, jeopardizing the country.

The interior minister also reiterated that minors have been used to carry out the extremist actions that have affected the country over the past few days. He pointed to the 25 November death of a minor carrying an explosive device as evidence of his position on the subject.

Not To Affect Elections

PY2711212489 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 0930 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Interior Minister Carlos Caceres has warned that the government will not allow the latest terrorist attacks to affect the peace that is required for the 14 December elections.

[Begin recording] You ask me if these attacks will affect the normal development of the 14 December elections. The government does not want these attacks to affect the elections. We have repeatedly stressed this government wish, and I have expressed it in words and in concrete acts. The elections will be held in an atmosphere of respect for the people and their ideas, and in an atmosphere of order, tranquillity, and social peace.

I am convinced that some minority sectors of Chilean society have found terrorism morally justifiable. I refer specifically to the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR). This armed branch of the Chilean Communist Party, together with some other minority groups, does not want the electoral process to be held in an orderly and calm atmosphere. These groups hope to see the

military regime overwhelmed by these violent terrorist acts. The military regime has achieved a great deal and has brought about great changes in the country, not only in the economic field, but also in the political scenario.

We Chileans may be sure that these groups will not succeed.

[Reporter] Does the government know what happened last night? Did the attacks have a clear goal? Were the terrorists trying to stage another attack on the president? As one of the bombs went off at the (Achupalla) Hill...

[Caceres, interrupting] There is clear evidence, and the Security Council established this on 22 November, that the FPMR and the other extremist and splinter groups have been trying to upset public order because yesterday the people were celebrating the president's birthday.

[Reporter] What happened to that youth, Mr. Minister? Has the government established whether he was a victim or whether he died when the bomb he was carrying went off prematurely?

[Caceres] According to reports received so far, the person who died during last night's attack was involved. He was carrying the bomb that went off near the site where the attack on the president of the Republic took place. That person was about 16 years old. The police are still investigating the case, but it seems that the person was involved in the terrorist act. [end recording]

The terrorist attacks to which we refer occurred on Saturday [25 November] night and early Sunday morning.

Buchi Discusses Candidacy, Election Platform

PM2711121489 Madrid YA in Spanish
12 Nov 89 p 22

[Interview with presidential candidate Hernan Buchi by Jesus Perez in Santiago; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Perez] Which points in your government program would you highlight?

[Buchi] My government program has what could be called a common denominator—to create opportunities for the Chilean people. However, the real possibility of exercising freedom is closely linked to people's having certain material assets. Hence the priority accorded in my program to social policies that should resolve the problems of housing, health, and education. An integral part of resolving social problems is the creation of 1 million job opportunities, as we have already done over the past 4 years, and creating the opportunities bank.

[Perez] Although even the opposition acknowledges your achievements as a minister, many people believe that you are a technocrat—not a politician. Even opposition candidate Patricio Aylwin has stated in an interview that Jarpa would have been a more formidable opponent than yourself, whom he defined only as "a good technician."

[Buchi] It does not seem proper to me to comment on the opinions that my opponent expresses about me. Under democracy, the verdict is given by the voters.

[Perez] What would your relationship be with Pinochet and the Armed Forces if you were elected president?

[Buchi] The framework for relations between the president of the Republic and the Armed Forces is provided by the 1980 Constitution. I will abide by that framework. My program also envisages some initiatives that will assist greater integration between civilians and the military. As far as my relationship with current President General Augusto Pinochet is concerned, the Constitution should again be consulted. It stipulates that Gen Pinochet can remain as Army commander in chief; that, as such, he commands only one of the branches of the Armed Forces; and that, as a result, for the purposes of his post, he is wholly subordinate to the president of the Republic.

[Perez] The Armed Forces have reserved themselves the role, confirmed even by the Constitution itself, of "guardians" of the democratic system. Are you in favor of cutting the Armed Forces' powers, once Chile fully enters the path of democracy? Are you in favor of amending the Constitution?

[Buchi] The role the Constitution defines for the Armed Forces is that of being guardians of national sovereignty, setting themselves up as nondeliberative professional bodies. As I have stated, I deem it highly desirable to make efforts to achieve greater integration between civilians and the military—something that simply did not exist in the past. As far as changes to the Constitution are concerned, I believe that my primary task as leader is to stabilize the new democracy. I would be prepared to consider any amendment which, without assailing the basis of our Constitution, would enjoy the support of a broad national majority.

[Perez] What would your government's relations with Spain and the EC be?

[Buchi] The historical ties linking us with Spain are numerous. I also believe that, even though Spain's situation in the seventies and Chile's current situation differ in many respects, Spain shows us a model of peaceful transition from which many lessons can be learned. In the future, Spain should be our natural gateway to the EC.

[Perez] There are two themes that you are always repeating in your speeches: that you are an independent candidate and that it is necessary to look to the future. However, the opposition describes you as the regime's candidate, while the hard-line sector of the government accuses you in turn of being ungrateful and forgetting your past as a minister under Pinochet...

[Buchi] I am neither. Like many other young Chileans toward the end of the sixties and in the early seventies, I saw how the exaltation of hatred, violence, sectarianism, and intolerance destroyed Chilean democracy to its very

roots. Between 1970 and 1973, the country witnessed the real demolition work carried out by the Allende government. I took part in the Armed Forces government, together with a whole generation of professionals and technicians, to rebuild the democratic institutions and lay the foundations of real economic development. I am an independent candidate, since my candidacy took shape independently. It stemmed from the demand of hundreds of thousands of people who believe freedom is the soundest basis for building our society. I also have the support of the National Renewal and Independent Democratic Union parties, and I value their role enormously. Chile is preparing to begin a new stage in its life as a nation. The military regime, which I believe achieved aims that were good for the country, is drawing to a close, and a democratic system is beginning. My task as president should be to consolidate economic progress and lay the foundations of the new democracy. [passage omitted]

Outlawed MIR Drafts Proposal on Human Rights

PY2711222989 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 0930 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] The outlawed, terrorist Movement of the Revolutionary Left, MIR, has drafted a proposal on human rights to be implemented by the next administration, which they believe will be headed by Patricio Aylwin.

MIR spokesman Jose Manuel Moya has said that the proposal calls for, among other things, the creation of a special committee to collect data on human rights violations.

Moya said that MIR's first objective is the release of all those they believe are political prisoners, including the terrorists who took part in the attack on President Pinochet at Cajon de Maipo and murdered five members of the president's bodyguard. The proposal also calls for severe punishment for those who have violated human rights and for the suspension of the Amnesty Law that was approved in 1978.

Hugo Carcamo, another MIR spokesman, has revealed that this terrorist group has lost nearly 1,000 members, and that some 100 of them were killed in international operations in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Angola. In the eyes of the MIR, those militants are considered heroes of the people's revolution and will be practically canonized as saints.

PCCh Spokesman Discusses Unity of Left Wing

PY2911150889 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The Chilean left has held an important meeting to outline its profile for the rest of the electoral campaign and its proposal to maintain the opposition's unity with the Christian Democrats and the coalition's center parties.

This announcement was made by Jose Sanfuentes, spokesman for the outlawed Communist Party of Chile [PCCh], who noted that the left is determined to vote for all its candidates in favor of its pact with the PAIS [Broad Party of the Socialist Left] and the pact between the PAIS and the PPD [Party for Democracy] of Ricardo Lagos.

Sanfuentes pointed out that, in the left's opinion, difficulties are in store for Patricio Aylwin's government, and he must understand that he will need the support of the left in the near future.

[Begin Sanfuentes recording] He will need the resolute support of the left in order to democratize Chile. The left believes that the best approach for the democratic government will be to have the people play a very important, active, and participative role in the task of democratization, because the strength of the next government will depend on the people. [end recording]

Sanfuentes stressed that the PCCh and the other left-wing parties will help protect democracy and that it must be made clear that a greater willingness to achieve understandings with the opposition coalition is required.

This will be announced in more detail 1 week before the elections, Sanfuentes said, although there are suspicions being aroused in the Christian Democratic Party sector about the alleged good intentions of the groups that formerly directed the Popular Unity.

Soviet Academician Predicts Resumption of Ties

PY3011144489 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 0930 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] A Soviet academician, who is the guest of the University of Chile, has predicted that diplomatic ties between Chile and the Soviet Union will be resumed soon.

Professor (Petr Yakovlev), a member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is the first person at such a level who has come to our country since 1973.

Yakovlev lectured at the Institute of Political Sciences of the University of Chile.

The Soviet academician emphasized the reform process that the Soviet Union is experiencing with the implementation of perestroyka. Yakovlev noted that there is a real opening and that the changes in the communist model have been welcomed with euphoria by broad sectors of the public political life.

The Soviet academician pointed out that there is already a commercial rapprochement between Moscow and Santiago and that diplomatic ties could be resumed soon.

Carabineros Raid Houses, Arrest Six People

PY2811211789 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Six people were arrested by Carabineros this morning during a raid on two houses in the El Cortejo Norte sector of the Conchali Municipality. This was

reported by relatives of those arrested. According to witnesses, a group of Carabineros from the Police Special Operations Unit, GOPE, and from the Civilian Commission violently barged into two apartment buildings on the 5700 block of Forestal Street. In an apartment they arrested the brothers Marcelo and Manuel Francisco Saavedra Rodriguez, 17 and 18, respectively. In another apartment they arrested Luis Helenio Herrera Villagra, 21, a student at Santiago University, and his brother Diego Alejandro, 16.

The girl friend of Diego Alejandro, who was identified as Marcela, was also arrested. Neighbors gave Radio Chilena the details of the operation.

[Begin recording] [Neighbor] At about 0500 this morning, we were woken by a gunshot. We opened the door to see what was happening, and policemen told us to close it. Other people were also told by the police to go in and close their doors.

[Reporter] Who were they?

[Neighbor] Civilian policemen and Carabineros. We finally came out and saw the policemen beating them. They were arrested and taken away. [end recording]

The Carabineros Office of the Metropolitan Area has released an official report on the incident, saying that six people were arrested early this morning by personnel from the North Prefecture and the GOPE. According to this communique, searches were carried out in compliance with an order issued by the Second Military Court of Santiago for the illegal possession of arms, the planting of explosive devices, and an attack on a Carabineros barracks. The communique adds that one of those arrested may have been involved in the explosion that killed Hector Benegas Gautier, 17, in the outskirts of Conchali municipality last week.

Colombia

President Extends Existence of Special Courts

PA2811234489 Bogota EL SIGLO in Spanish 22 Nov 89 p 7-A

[Text] The national government has issued a decree that extends the existence of special courts and the corresponding prosecutors' offices throughout the country.

This measure was adopted through Decree 2626 issued this month and signed by President Virgilio Barco and all cabinet members.

Special courts were created through Law No 2, dated 16 January 1984. Among their duties are conducting investigations and issuing rulings on cases dealing with kidnappings, extorsion, terrorism, and other related crimes.

According to the above law, the mission of the special courts ends in January, when the special courts would become district penal courts, or higher courts, by previous consultation between the government and the Supreme Court of Justice.

The government decision of 21 November extends the existence of the aforementioned courts while disturbances in public order continue and while the state of siege is in effect throughout the country.

The text of the decree follows.

The President of the Republic:

Exerting the powers bestowed upon him by Article 121 of the Political Constitution regarding Decree 1038 of 1984, which decrees that:

Article 1: The existence of the special courts and corresponding prosecutor's offices is hereby extended as long as disturbances in public order continue and as long as the state of siege is in effect throughout the country.

Article 2: Special courts will continue performing the tasks entrusted to them through Law No 2 of 1984, Assembly Decree 474 of 1988, and Decree 2390 of 1989, and other provisions amending them.

Article 3: Once the period of validity of the special courts and prosecutor's offices has expired, and once the state of siege has been lifted, special judges will hold posts as district penal judges or superior judges, according to the provisions of Article No 74 from Law No 2 of 1984.

To be published and complied with.

Signed by President Virgilio Barco Vargas and all Cabinet members.

Patriotic Union Member Murdered in Monteria

PA2911014689 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0028 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Boris Zapata, member of the Patriotic Union [UP] and professor at Cordoba University, was murdered this afternoon in downtown Monteria. Zapata was also related to writer Manuel Zapata Olivella. Zapata, a 38-year-old professor, was gunned down by two men who fled on a motorcycle. Simultaneously, the police confirmed that 11 peasants were massacred the night of 26 November during a party at El Rincon de las Viejas, in southeastern Cordoba Department.

Paraguay

President Menem Hosts Asuncion News Conference

PY2911222889 Asuncion Red Nacional de Television in Spanish 1537 GMT 28 Nov 89

[News conference by Argentine President Carlos Menem with Tony Leon of Radio Primero de Marzo, Asuncion; Ariel Klin of Radio El Plata, Buenos Aires; Celso Chavez of EL DIARIO, Asuncion; Teresa Gosen of Radio Nanduti, Asuncion; Marta Ferrara of Radio Caritas,

Asuncion; and an unidentified reporter from Channel 3 of Formosa, Argentina, at the Blue Hall in Government House, Asuncion—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Leon] You said that Yacyreta can generate power in 1993...

[Menem, interrupting] That is our wish.

[Leon continues] The relocation of Encarnacion, however, is one of the problems that has seriously hindered the fulfillment of the timetable. What financial measures will the government adopt to solve this problem, which can hinder the start of operations?

[Menem] Look, this is one of the problems that I mentioned when I said that there are some obstacles and conflicts that are to some extent paralyzing the project. We are working on this, on the relocation of the towns that will be harmed—initially harmed—by the construction of this great project. We had some experience in Argentina. The same thing happened in Salto Grande, where we had to relocate some towns, among them Federacion, and everything was properly done. This problem will also be solved. [passage omitted]

[Klin] Mr President, what was the approach toward the drug trafficking issue and what were the proposals considered by the two presidents?

[Menem] The decision was to intensify all aspects of the struggle against this scourge that affects all nations. Thank God, our people perhaps are not suffering as much as other nations are. In other countries, the governments not only have to repress drug consumption, but they also have to fight a war against drug traffickers, as in Colombia, in some regions in Peru, in some Central American countries, and even in the United States. Drug trafficking surpasses $600 billion yearly, of which $450 billion circulate in the United States. The problem is serious, very serious. We are working to set firm control measures and to take repressive action. Vice President Eduardo Duhalde has visited this country, and he has addressed the issue. You know very well that he is a drug specialist.

[Chavez] Dr Menem, the possibility of the democratic governments of the Americas signing a mutual defense pact has been mentioned in the past, and taking into account the serious problems...

[Menem, interrupting] What kind of pact?

[Chavez] A pact, let's say, for the mutual defense of democracy. Taking into account the serious social problems and other types of problems that are affecting the Americas, do you think that such a mutual defense pact is feasible?

[Menem] All the pacts that are now being signed obviously mention the defense of democracy. The defense of the state of law is equivalent to defending democracy. That is the reason for our concern over what is happening in sister republics like El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Panama, where through our intervention—which does not mean interference—we are trying to let peace return to countries that have long been affected by meaningless confrontations between brothers and fellow countrymen. Treaties and accords on these issues are signed every day. On 3 December—on 3, 4, and 5 December—the foreign ministers and the planning and financial ministers of the Group of Eight will meet in Argentina. The agenda will include those issues, especially the subject of your question. [passage omitted]

[Gosen] Some people believe that the Latin American common market is a utopian goal, some are still hoping for it, and some regard it as something that will soon be implemented. What is your opinion on the subject?

[Menem] It is neither a utopian goal nor mere hope. It is something real. What we have done here represents a major landmark for the Latin American common market. The protocols and accords that we have signed with Brazil, the 24 and 15 accords [not further identified] that we signed with Brazil and that Uruguay has also joined, are real. This is neither utopian nor mere hope. We are moving forward toward Latin American economic integration. I also hope that, in the near future, there will also be sociopolitical integration.

[Reporter from Channel 3 of Formosa] Dr Menem, the previous question is similar to the question that I wanted to ask. I am interested in the Latin American common market. Will all these bilateral accords that are being signed by Latin American countries quickly lead us to the consolidation of the hopes shared by all the inhabitants of this continent?

[Menem] Yes, they will. There are also the existing organizations, like ALADI [Latin American Integration Association], the Andean Pact, and all the groups that were created in different places in Latin America, to provide the foundation and give significance to the Latin American economic integration process. [passage omitted]

[Ferrara] Please excuse me for again raising the issue of the Latin American common market. We Paraguayans would like to know when Paraguay will actually join the market. Will Paraguay attend the next summit of the Brazilian, Argentine, and Uruguayan presidents?

[Menem] The common market is not only Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, but all Latin American countries. We have already begun integration projects and we are also striving to have Paraguay soon join the Group of Eight. If we succeed in this effort we will have taken a major step toward integration, just as Europeans are now doing. Europe needed a number of years for this project, and they will consolidate their integration process in 1992. I hope that—for the good of everyone—this process will be completed before the beginning of the 21st century, before the year 2000.

[Channel 3 Reporter] Mr President, you have frequently come to Paraguay on courtesy and friendship visits.

During one of your last visits to Asuncion, you said that your next visit would be as Argentine president. Did you expect to find a different situation here in Paraguay? What is your opinion of the new situation here?

[Menem] Paraguay, like Argentina, is now living a state of law. When I said that I would return to Paraguay as Argentine president—and I am now fulfilling that promise—I did not mention the system of government that I would find here in Paraguay. Despite the great appreciation and respect that I feel for the current Paraguayan president, the people come first. If I may say so, I fell in love with the Paraguayan people and land. We, the people who govern, will pass. In some years General Rodriguez and Carlos Menem will retire from political life, but the people will remain. The leaders of goodwill, purebred politicians, are interested in the people and in the land where those people live. [passage omitted]

Bilateral Agreements With Argentina Summarized

PY2911124589 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 28 Nov 89 p 12, 13

[Text] The Paraguayan and Argentine Governments have signed three [as published] agreements on economic cooperation, subregional and border integration, illegal use and trafficking of narcotics and psychotropic substances, and energy integration. Another agreement was signed between PETROPAR [Paraguayan Petroleum, Inc] and the Argentine State Gas Company for the purchase and sale of liquified gas.

The first three agreements were signed by Paraguayan Foreign Minister Luis Maria Argana and Argentine Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo. The contract for the purchase and sale of liquified gas was signed by PETROPAR Chairman Desiderio Enciso and Argentine Energy Under Secretary Julio Cesar Araoz. According to this contract, PETROPAR will purchase 20,000 tons of gas at $145 per ton.

In accordance with the first agreement signed this morning, the two parties will strengthen mutual integration and cooperation in the economic, financial, technological, tourism, and cultural fields. In the economic field, Argentina will exempt a list of Paraguayan-made products from customs taxes, while Paraguay will reduce customs taxes charged on Argentine-made products by 20 percent a year until, after 5 years, these products will be entirely exempt from taxes. This document establishes that, in terms of the favorable conditions for the participation of economically less-developed countries (Article 15 of the Montevideo Treaty signed in 1980), the necessary conditions for a dynamic balance in the exchange of products will be based on this agreement.

Within the framework of economic and industrial cooperation, it has been agreed that the activities between the two countries will be implemented in accordance with the two countries' plans and policies for national and sectoral development, so as to achieve a fair balance in bilateral relations. The two countries will also adopt measures aimed at coordinating and complementing their industrial activities.

Another agreement signed this morning established that the Paraguayan and Argentine Governments will cooperate in fighting against the illegal use and trafficking of narcotics through their respective organizations and appropriate national services, which will recommend the specific actions deemed necessary to reach the established goals and suggest any changes that may be required.

The third agreement consisted of a protocol on energy integration that aims to intensify and improve the studies on the possibility of creating new electrical connections between Paraguay and Argentina.

Regarding the exemption from customs taxes for several Paraguayan-made products, [Paraguayan Finance] Minister Debernardi said: "This measure will favor Paraguay, but the Paraguayan Government decision to adopt a similar measure regarding Argentine-made products may create a certain imbalance in the income we obtain from customs taxes."

Peasant Leader Corazon Medina Released

PY3011023589 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 25 Nov 89 p 6

[Text] After 3 days in jail, peasant leader Marcelino Corazon Medina was released yesterday. "I was incommunicado and could receive no visitors," Medina said. Medina, who is the chairman of the Peasant Labor Party [as published], was arrested on 21 November near the Government Palace, when he was accompanying a group of Chaco War veterans who wanted to hand President Rodriguez a letter.

"I was put in a cell with common criminals and had to sleep on the floor, just as if we were still in Stroessner's era," Corazon Medina said. He added that yesterday he was taken before Police Chief General Sanchez, who referred to the violation of a bill that has been partially approved by Congress.

The police chief said Corazon Medina had been arrested in connection with the theft of property belonging to the person in charge of a ranch in General Resquin, which is owned by a foreigner. Medina, who thanked several sectors of Paraguayan society for their solidarity, said: "The person who is responsible for this theft is very well known in the region and has not even been arrested."

Colorado Party Sector Rejects Coup Rumors

PY2911173189 Asuncion HOY in Spanish 27 Nov 89 p 10

[Text] The "Democratic Alliance" [Colorado Party sector] yesterday denounced the existence of a large-scale destabilization campaign that "is spreading rumors

about a possible coup d'etat, a division within the Armed Forces, and the possible dissolution of Congress."

Bernardo Cano Redil, who is the spokesman for this Colorado Party sector, yesterday told HOY that those rumors have been spread everywhere, that they are absolutely untrue, and that they have been concocted by regressive sectors that are about to lose their power."[no opening quotation mark as published].

"The Armed Forces and General Rodriguez stand ready to support our democratic process. The rumors are all groundless," Dr Cano Redil said yesterday.

"The rumors are absolutely untrue. They have been concocted by officials [personeros] who want to regain power. The rumors exist in Congress, everywhere," Dr Cano Redil concluded.

Peru

Garcia Discusses North Korea, IMF Talks

PY2811125989 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Excerpts] In a 45-minute news conference at Government Palace, President Alan Garcia has announced that an IMF delegation and Peruvian officials will study economic policy guidelines to serve as a basis for the preparation of a medium-term program acceptable for Peru. Garcia also reported on the results of the meeting regarding the conditions for paying the debt.

[Begin recording] [Garcia] I thank you very much for being here at this news conference, where we will try to explain the talks between the IMF and Engineer Abel Salinas, who is representing the Peruvian Government. I also want to specifically refer to the IMF issue.

As you all know, since 1985 we have maintained a position of rejecting IMF policies—policies of readjustment and economic contraction, of payment on commercial debts. These policies also demanded updating payments to the IMF.

Over the past few years, our relations have been contradictory. Our debt to the IMF has amounted to almost $700 million, and the IMF was demanding the immediate payment of that amount to begin the appropriate talks. As in other countries, it was also demanding economic readjustment programs.

We have submitted some proposals over the past few months requesting that the IMF terms be changed, because we know that our inflexible and firm position did not rule out dialogue. What we want is to obtain changes in the IMF's stances and theories. This is what we are interested in, and not only in Peru; I am also speaking on behalf of the Latin American people.

I have submitted a document, received by the IMF on 18 September, proposing the Peruvian conditions for negotiating with the IMF. These conditions are: First, Peru's debt payments in arrears to the IMF, amounting to some $800 million, will be paid on a long-term basis under more favorable terms; that is, the amounts, deadlines, and interest rates must be well below those offered by the international commercial markets.

Second, we demanded fresh money, new credits. Third, we have agreed to discuss an economic program, provided that it will include, as necessary conditions, policies that will allow the GDP to grow, create job opportunities, and permit the real value of salaries to increase, without being detrimental to low-income sectors.

With these conditions, included in the document submitted to the IMF, to all IMF governors, and to all countries, we hope to obtain an answer from the IMF. Eng Abel Salinas has coordinated this Peruvian proposal and requested an answer to it.

In the document you have, the one listed as Annex B, you will find the project negotiated with the IMF. As I understand it, this proposal calls for considerable changes—an important change of position in which the IMF is accepting new conceptual terms and new rules regulating its treatment of a country behind in its debt payments.

First, this document negotiated with the IMF accepts several points of our proposal. It says that a program will be studied, provided it is acceptable to Peru. This is an essential statement, written with the IMF (?index card) number.

It demands an acceptable program that will allow the GDP to grow, create job opportunities, and permit the real value of salaries to increase, without being detrimental to low-income sectors; that is, an economic program with no readjustments, as this country has demanded for years. I believe that this is an essential issue. This is a proposal that calls for considerable changes, an important change in the IMF's positions, theories, and even rules.

Second, the document negotiated with the IMF accepts that Peru's delayed payments over the past 6 years—when I assumed office the Peruvian Government's debt in arrears with the IMF already amounted to some $800 million—must be paid with long-term credits obtained with the cooperation of the IMF. With Peru, the IMF is committed to seek out organizations that will grant long-term credits under more favorable conditions—you can see that everything is written there regarding deadlines and noncommercial interest rates. The important thing is that, unlike before, it is no longer necessary to pay first to begin talks. Here we accept the fact that the IMF is promising to find resources with which Peru, under exceptional terms, will be able to pay its previous debts and, at the same time, begin talking about new relations within a growing economic program. The IMF promises to grant fresh resources to support this program.

We believe that the IMF's stance and attitude is very important. Under these conditions, Peru will begin to

pay its obligations regularly. That is, from now on, the debt that falls due will be paid, but the overdue debt will have to be renegotiated with long-term credits obtained from governments or organizations with the help of the IMF and under better terms; that is, with noncommercial interest rates.

Although this is a step in our dialogue with international organizations, it is important to make this statement so that journalists, and through them Peru, can verify that if a country can strongly but calmly set forth a theoretically solid position and a well-defined attitude—like Peru has—toward IMF adjustment theories and demands for immediate payments, it can attain its objectives. We understand that the situation has now become more flexible, and Eng Abel Salinas will hold more meetings with IMF officials to see how this document, which has been drafted jointly with the IMF and approved by the IMF, can be implemented. Once these conditions have been met and an economic growth program—one that does not reduce buying power—has been established, and as we begin to seek credit on concessional terms to obtain fresh money for Peru, we will start to make payments of the debt that comes due, an amount that technically, up to the end of this administration, should amount to $70 million. However, the $800 million that is overdue will be treated differently.

This obviously means that the situation has become more flexible, and, although we do not consider it sufficiently flexible, we understand that a position like Peru's should seek other objectives. We believe that these additional objectives are gradually being found.

If the journalists would like to ask questions about this, I will answer them. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] In light of this initial commitment, one aspect that would seem to be of interest to Peruvians and Latin Americans in general concerns the prospects for the debt to private banks, which is huge. How is our debt different from that of Mexico? It has been said that the debt problem should be solved like Mexico's. I understand that there are notable differences and I would like, we would all like, to have an idea of the differences.

[Garcia] Well, from the time the IMF, which has acted as the ideologically tutelar institution.... [changes thought] The IMF was a sacred place, the ideological Mecca of neoliberalism and strictness. This is why our first confrontation was with the IMF. When the IMF begins to be more flexible, other organizations and the commercial banks will have to follow the same path.

In this case the IMF has become flexible regardless of what may happen with the commercial banks. The commercial banks have to face the facts. They are being forced to stay behind, but the time will come for the Latin American thesis to prevail. The commercial banks know that Latin America cannot pay anymore; they know that the debt will never be collected or will only be partially collected. What happens when commercial bank officials are ashamed to tell their shareholders and depositors that they cannot recover the money they irresponsibly loaned to Latin America to benefit the enterprises of the industrialized countries?

No other paths are left except for substantially reducing the debt, refinancing it over a very long time at very low interest, or repurchasing it at market prices—which is a proposition the Peruvian Government supports. For the commercial banks, the debt notes are worth their market value. The country may owe $100 million, but the debt notes can be bought for $5-6 million or 10 percent; that is what the debt is really worth. The Peruvian debt is worth less than 10 percent of its nominal, original value, because it has been inflated by interest.

If you look at the value of the debt when it was contracted and at how it has ballooned and geometrically multiplied through the interest, nobody with a sense of justice or with any intelligence would say that the debt and its multiplied interest must be paid. This must all be brought back to reality to balance international finances. The experts on the subject have certainly pondered the fact that this enormous amount, which nobody can pay and which is much more than what Latin America produces in several years, can never be collected. The logical and practical solution is that the debt be reduced, because its repayment is hampering the commercial and productive capacity of Latin America.

Latin America can't buy anything from the United States, because it owes too much. This debt must be reduced so that world trade can be reinvigorated. This is fundamentally important now; the United States is looking to the PRC, Russia, and East Germany as possible markets, having forgotten Latin America. Once again the United States has forgotten Latin America, which it seemingly only considers a backyard in which to impose some sort of ideology or to maintain some sort of security doctrine. The United States places economic priorities on the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the great PRC consumer market. It forgets Latin America, which it has shackled with the interest-padded debt.

I believe that the climate of flexibility is embracing the entire political, military, and economic world system, and that the banks will have to be content with collecting less than what they originally thought. There was a triumphant presentation of an offer to reduce a country's debt by up to 20 percent, but as far as we know that offer has not materialized. Furthermore, a 20-percent reduction is not significant, not great enough to solve the problems of poverty and the financial obligations of Latin America. The reduction must be much greater. A reduction of 10 or 20 percent will do little; everything will remain the same. We believe—and I have been saying this to every Latin American president—that only through our adoption of firm and dignified positions will the adversary relent. [passage omitted]

Let me now say a few words about a different subject, the establishment of relations with North Korea. I believe

the opposition has raised a tempest in a teacup; it has raised an issue that is of no relevance to the Peruvian people. First, we uphold the concept of universality of relations, of maintaining relations with all nations. Colombian President Virgilio Barco established relations with North Korea a few months ago; he did not have to face a savage opposition telling him that he was throwing himself into the arms of terrorism. Nobody has complained to Carlos Andres Perez or to Salinas de Gortari about maintaining relations with North Korea. For that matter, nobody has objected in Bolivia, Austria, or Sweden, because in those countries there is no reactionary right to argue that to recognize North Korea is to court destruction.

Second, someone—and I do not want to mention him by name—has said that relations have been established with a terrorist state. This is a tremendous error, because 20,000 rifles sold to us by North Korea at $90 apiece—$10 less than anywhere else in the world—have made it possible to save and defend the lives of tens of thousands of civilian guards of the national police and have made it possible to eliminate and eradicate subversion in many parts of the country.

Third, international relations are not designed to be auctioned off to the highest bidder. If so, we would have to break relations with Australia or with Finland. One must maintain relations with all the peoples of the world. Under such criteria, since Peru recognizes the FRG, it should close its embassy in the communist GDR. This Manichean criterion, this obtuse criterion, this outmoded criterion is no longer valid; the Berlin wall has been razed. How can one say that this country should be recognized and another shouldn't? Peru will not accept any imperialist veto on its world relations. We have had enough of the 1960's and 1970's, when passports said we could not travel to the Soviet Union or Cuba. Peruvians have the right to travel wherever they wish, like they wish, and when they wish. This is freedom, and it cannot be curtailed by the establishment of off-limits areas around the globe.

Finally, several of the gentlemen who now oppose the establishment of relations with North Korea have been honored, illustrious guests of the North Korean Government. The other day I heard some people speaking vehemently on this topic, while some other people nearby had been honored guests there. Journalists can seek out and determine how many of those who now oppose these relations have been honored guests in North Korea for weeks. Now, for political reasons, they are opposed to the establishment of relations with North Korea. [end recording]

* Mayoral Candidate on Campaign, Platform

90ET0040A Lima EQUIS-X in Spanish
16 Oct 89 pp 30-32

[Interview with Lima mayoral candidate Ricardo Belmont by Juan Carlos Torres: "The People Are With Me Because I Am With the People"; date and place not given; first paragraph is EQUIS-X introduction]

[Text] Spending little money on propaganda, not appearing much in the daily newspapers or on TV, and reticent about interviews, Ricardo Belmont Cassinelli, the telethon man who established the TV channel which bears his name with the support of a widespread group of stockholders, is holding onto first place in the polls, as expected. It would not be surprising if he were elected mayor of Lima. Here he gives us some advance views regarding his programs and his hopes, as well as the problems which he is presently facing.

[EQUIS-X] Why are you running for mayor of Lima?

[Belmont] It was a psychic need. I saw how things were being destroyed in the country and the increasingly overwhelming crisis facing it. I thought that something had to be done. My friends said to me: "Why not run, Ricardo?" I began to think about it, checked with others, analyzed the situation, and told myself that something had to be done for this city which is in an increasingly chaotic state. And then I decided to enter political life, which is where decisions affecting other people are made.

[EQUIS-X] At first your candidacy was not taken seriously. Not even the Fredemo [Democratic Front] took you seriously. Is that right?

[Belmont] As a matter of fact the daily newspapers and the other communications media did not take me seriously and even ridiculed the meeting which we held in the Plaza Manco Capac. However, I began to win the people's support for my candidacy. From all sides I received words of encouragement. People of every social class sought me out to support me, and this strengthened me.

[EQUIS-X] Was that why you poured scorn on Fredemo and became a candidate on your own?

[Belmont] Look, there was no concrete offer from Fredemo. I talked with some of the leaders and with Francisco Diez Canseco. However, I did not ask for anything, and still less did they offer me anything. In fact these were conversations between friends, an exchange of ideas, an expression of views. I believe there is a great deal of common ground between what Obras [Independent Obras Movement] stands for and the position of Fredemo.

[EQUIS-X] Does that mean that you would consider going over to Fredemo?

[Belmont] Nothing has yet been agreed on that. Recently, we have been active in the municipal election campaign. After the elections we will be able to say what steps should be taken. Meanwhile, what we are involved in now is the municipal campaign.

[EQUIS-X] What do you think of the polls which put you in first place for several weeks and now say that you are declining in strength?

[Belmont] For me the most important thing will be the results of the elections on 12 November, as is now the situation in the street and the very great regard which people have for me. This is the most important aspect for me. If I win the elections, I will carry out a coherent plan of municipal government, well supported, and with the possibility of implementing it and making it a reality during my term in municipal government. We have to look at municipal problems in two aspects. One of them is the municipality as an organization in order to give it an effective structure. The other aspect is to resolve the daily problems which come up in the city. In the first aspect, it is a matter of putting into practice the Comprehensive Development Plan. The second aspect concerns the Short-Term Plan, which must be implemented as soon as we achieve power in the municipality.

[EQUIS-X] What does the plan for the immediate future involve?

[Belmont] We are going to resolve the garbage problem. Japanese, Swiss, and Dutch companies have a solution for it. They have presented proposals for handling it, for which Peru has already paid with the money of all Peruvians. We must repair seriously deteriorated roads, which are a problem for vehicular traffic. The problem of transportation also requires an immediate solution to end the sufferings of thousands of people so that they can move around. An electric tram system can be a brilliant idea, but we have to see whether we have the funds to carry on with it. What our technicians have studied and propose is that we must unite the Northern and Southern parts of the city, but we have to see what resources we have. It will be necessary to visit the markets and to control the established prices of food products. At the same time the appearance of the city is important. We need to sow seed in the green areas, take care of gardens and parks, expand the number of recreation areas and, finally, make the various services of the capital more efficient.

[EQUIS-X] It is said that Belmont avoids debates with the other candidates and refuses to give interviews and make personal presentations. Is that right?

[Belmont] I have not refused to engage in any debate or to give any interviews, either. It happens that things often get turned around. I have attended several programs and debated with the other candidates and, if they ask me to do so, I will attend other meetings with pleasure. What happens is that while politicians need to appear in different places, so that people will pay attention to them, I have been engaged in campaigning for 20 years. People know me by the seven telethons which we have performed and with which we succeeded in building additional wards at the San Juan de Dios Clinic. The people do not forget that I set up the first television channel in Peru with a widespread group of stockholders. By this means 110,000 Peruvians were able to own capital for the first time. I have spoken with more than 300,000 people through the "Speak to the People" program, in which a series of problems were raised to which we looked for solutions. I have listened to the complaints and frustrations of the Peruvian people. Therefore, I have had contact with the people and I do not need to go to the markets with photographers to do ads for myself.

[EQUIS-X] How do you define yourself from the ideological point of view?

[Belmont] I am a man who defends private enterprise, prefers development, and an economy open to the world and not closed to foreign investment. The power of a businessman is success in making development projects a reality and giving jobs and seeking prosperity for the country. Regarding my record in politics, I have no aspiration to anything, nor am I running for municipal office as a springboard for any other political position. That is the difference between me and other political candidates.

[EQUIS-X] However, it is said that you have reportedly come to an understanding with Fredemo, that they have even offered you a place on their parliamentary lists.

[Belmont] There is no truth in that. A great deal was said that I had talked to Mario Vargas Llosa and that he had offered me an important position on his parliamentary lists. However, the truth is that we have not talked to each other for several months. The last time that we met we talked about the similar positions we have regarding a government program and general policy lines. As a result I offered him my support in the general elections of 1990. I have never thought that I might become a member of Congress or that I might aspire to another political position. For the moment the last word has not been said, and even I myself do not know what will happen in the future.

[EQUIS-X] If you are elected mayor of Lima, will you call on your opponents to work with you?

[Belmont] Of course, and in the same way, if I do not win, I hope that they will call on us to make our contribution, because I consider that the municipal elections are a neighborly exercise, where all of us should put our shoulders to the wheel to resolve the many problems of the city. The presidential elections are something else, in which national problems are considered. Now with the regional elections there is another point of view which must be taken very much into account, due to the change which the country is now going through regarding regionalization.

[EQUIS-X] There are those who say that your candidacy will take votes away from Fredemo. Do you think so?

[Belmont] I think that every candidate has his supporters, and those who support us will do so in any case. This will not take votes away from other candidates who also have their supporters, particularly all of those who represent political parties. However, we have to keep in mind that the municipal elections have no national political coloring. Specifically by politicizing mayoral

offices we have a city like Lima which is cut up, dirty, full of street vendors, and with very poor municipal services. We must look once again at the office of mayor as a position for the administration of the city and not as a springboard for seeking other political positions.

[EQUIS-X] Finally, do you not believe that you as an independent have been used in the polls to continue losing support so that candidates like Inchaustegui can be put in your place?

[Belmont] I do not pay much attention to the polls because they are not very serious. On some occasions they have shown that I am far ahead of the other candidates, while in the following week I have appeared to have a smaller percentage of the vote and even to be behind the others. The polls depend on the circumstances, and what is interesting is that we have the support of the people and are going to win the office of mayor as an independent candidate, in order to do a great deal for our city.

[Box, p 32] For and Against: the Preferential Vote

No one denies the democratic character of preferential voting. However, it is feared that in practice it will turn out to be too complicated for the voters. There are those who wish to abolish this system.

Alberto Ruiz Eldredge is in favor of the system. He states: "Preferential voting is a good electoral practice. Through its use people have entered parliament who were in last place on their parliamentary lists. Voters' preferences made it possible for them to win a seat. This has happened to politicians who, despite being in last place on their list, were elected, as was the case with Carlos Malpica. Therefore, this is a system which favors candidates who, for some reason, might be left behind. If the preferential voting system did not exist, there is no way in which they would be elected. Those who are opposed to this system are the parties whose parliamentary lists are negotiated and, therefore, they want to be sure of winning as a bloc and not of competing. They want to bet on a sure thing. With the preferential voting system in effect at the time of balloting the voter chooses the party he prefers and at the same time, in a separate box, he votes for the candidate of his choice. This is democratic. In this way it was possible to know that in the previous general elections Deputy Luis Negreiros and Senator Luis Alberto Sanchez obtained the largest number of votes and thus became the first presidents of their respective chambers. As a result, the preferential voting system should not be abolished. That would amount to playing the game of candidates who have everything to win and do not wish to compete, as they should."

Roberto Ramirez Del Villar is against the system. He says: "At this time of violence, when things must be clear, the preferential voting system should not continue to exist because it leads to confusion. At the time when they cast their ballots, the voters will be confused, because they are going to have to mark up to 10 boxes to vote effectively, in barely 1 minute, during the general elections of 1990, when they will have to mark an X to vote for the president, deputies, senators, and regional candidates. Apart from this circumstance the preferential voting system will complicate life for the voters and will make voting more difficult. As a result, there may be a very large number of spoiled ballots. The law covering preferential voting has been in effect since 1984. However, in Congress I have presented a draft bill to abolish this system. This draft bill should be approved before the end of this legislative term in November 1989. Later on will come the inscription of candidates before the National Elections Jury before 1 January. After that, it will not be possible to change anything. In parliament it has been noted that there are opposing views on this matter, including those in favor of abolishing preferential voting and those who are in favor of its continuing. However, it seems to me that there is a widespread lack of understanding of this matter. Once it is understood that what we seek is simplicity at the time of voting, everything will be arranged satisfactorily."

Uruguay

National Party Wins in Official Election Returns

PY2911222889 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2230 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Presidential candidate Luis Alberto Lacalle's National Party (Blanco) has won the general elections in Uruguay with 36.97 percent of the vote.

According to official returns, 93.11 percent of the almost 2.1 million votes cast have been counted. Of this, the "Blancos" have obtained 8.37 percent more votes than the Colorado Party.

The ruling Colorado Party, which came second, obtained 28.60 percent of the vote. The leftist Broad Front coalition, which came third, obtained 20.21 percent. The center-left New Sector Party came fourth with 8.51 percent of the vote.

In Montevideo, where almost half of the 3 million Uruguayans live, Broad Front candidate Tabare Vazquez was elected mayor with 32.84 percent of the vote. He is the city's first socialist mayor.

The "Blanco" candidate for the Montevideo mayoralty came second with 25.07 percent of the vote, the "Colorado" candidate third with 23.27 percent, and the New Sector candidate fourth with 12.36 percent.

The "Blancos" obtained 16 of the 19 other mayoralties and districts, while the "Colorados" obtained just 1.

The "Blancos" and the "Colorados" are waiting for returns from 200 electoral boards to learn who will obtain the Artigas District mayoralty, in northern Uruguay, where the result is expected to be very close.

Of the 99 seats at the Chamber of Deputies, the National Party obtained 39, the Colorado Party 30, the Broad Front 22, and the New Sector 8.

Of the 30 Senate seats, the "Blancos" won 12, the "Colorados" 9, the Broad Front 7, and the New Sector 2.

The Constitutional Amendment, that will allow the retired workers to receive inflation-linked pensions, has been approved by 83 percent of the voters.

The total number of blank votes so far totals 16,162—more than the number of votes received by the minority Eto-Ecologist Green Party, which received only 10,022 votes; by the Workers' Party, which received only 330 votes;, by the Convergence Movement [Movimiento Convergencia], which received just 421 votes; and the Justice Party [Partido Justiciero], which received just 419 votes.

The Uruguayan "Slogans Law" [Ley de Lemas] allows each party to present several presidential and vice presidential candidates. The candidate who receives the most votes, that is, who receives not only his own votes but also the votes given to his party's other candidates, is the one who will be elected

Israeli President To Visit in 'Early December'

PY2911182289 Montevideo EL DIA in Spanish 19 Nov 89 p 16

[Excerpt] Official sources have reported to EL DIA that Israeli President Herzog will make an official visit to our country in early December. [passage omitted]

Venezuela

Minister Comments on Border Problems, FMLN

PA3011062689 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0330 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Caracas, 29 Nov (EFE)—The Venezuelan Government today expressed grief and sorrow over the Salvadoran political situation and the consequences of the Salvadoran civil war for peace in the region.

Venezuelan Foreign Minister Reinaldo Figueredo reiterated his country's concern over the Salvadoran situation and his government's desire that a peaceful solution of the conflict be reached.

Figueredo declined to comment on the alleged Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] request that Argentine President Carlos Menem act as mediator with the Salvadoran Government. Figueredo said he "could not make any remarks" on this request. He expressed the interest and the commitment of the region's democratic governments to a negotiated solution of the Salvadoran conflict.

He added that he was not aware Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez had offered to fly to Colombia to attend the ceremony in which the guerrilla movement M-19 [19 April Movement] will surrender its arms. Figueredo also said he has not talked the matter over with Perez and that, for the time being, this possibility has not been considered by the president.

The Venezuelan foreign minister said that, on a date still unspecified, he will tour the Colombian border with Colombian Foreign Minister Julio Londono. Figueredo said the purpose of this tour is to analyze, on site, several problems common to both countries.

Figueredo also referred to the meeting by the Venezuelan and Colombian high commissioners for border affairs to be held in Aruba, a former Dutch colony, on 30 November.

Figueredo said the "inventory" work of the commissioners "is in its final stage" and that "important progress" has been achieved.

The bilateral commission was designated in March by Perez and Colombian President Virgilio Barco in the meeting they held at Urena, near the border with Colombia. Some of the topics considered by the commissioners include formulas for the negotiation of border problems, measures to combat drug trafficking, theft of vehicles, assistance in oil-related disasters, and ecological protection.

Pedro Gomez Borrero and Carlos Holguin, Colombian commissioners, and Venezuelans Isidro Morales Paul and Rafael Pizani will meet in Aruba until 3 December.

Arrest of Former Ministers, Officials Ordered

PA2911224589 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2127 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Caracas, 29 Nov (EFE)—A Venezuelan court today issued a warrant for the arrest of former ministers and officials of the administration of former President Jaime Lusinchi (1984-1989) on embezzlement charges.

A High Safeguard Court issued the arrest warrants for former Ministers of Finance Manuel Aizpurua and Hector Hurtado, former Minister of Development Hector Meneses, and former Central Bank President Mauricio Garcia Araujo.

Arrest warrants for the embezzlement of funds were also issued against other former Lusinchi aides. The embezzlement was carried out by granting "preferential dollars," (at 7.5 bolivares), through the Differential Exchange Systems Office.